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Epochs of Modern History

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THE AGE OF ELIZABETH

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EUROPE
in the
TIME OF ELIZABETH
SCOTLAND
Ireland
ENGLAND
NORWAY
SWEDEN
DENMARK
Territory of the Knights of the Sword
Prussia
POLAND
Brandenburg
Saxony
GERMANY
HUNGARY
Wallachia
TURKISH STATES
VENICE
Corsica
Naples
Sardinia
MONARCHY
Sicily
Malta
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Mediterranean Sea
AFRICA
North Sea
Baltic Sea
London: Longmans & Co.
Edwd Weller

PREFACE.

My object in this little book has been to ad
closely as possible to the intention of the ser
to embrace as much as I could of the conte
history of Europe. For this purpose seve
pression was required, and though I have end
to preserve the perspective of events I cann
that I have always succeeded.

I have grouped European history round th
of England, because I considered that in
would be made most interesting to the En
I have regarded the political history as of
importance, and only in the case of Eng
found space for social or literary history.

My guide throughout the whole of th
been Ranke, who has made the histo
teenth and seventeenth centuries pec
His 'Englische Geschichte',[1] contai

[1] Translated, Clarendon Press, 6

gorous sketch of the reign of Elizabeth in its nexion with external politics. His 'Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation'[1] is a masterly unt of the Reformation in Germany and of its cal effects upon that country. His 'Römische te'[2] contains an account of the influence of the rmation movement on Catholicism, the progress e Catholic Reformation and its reaction upon stantism. His 'Geschichte Frankreichs'[3] s the influence of the Reformation on the s of the French monarchy. Finally a little riginally published as the first volume of a which the 'Römische Päpste' formed the part, under the name of 'Fürsten und Völker Europa'[4] contains an admirable account of ation of the Spanish monarchy under Charles hilip II.

e works of Ranke will remain as the chief f our knowledge of the history of these times. founded upon a careful study of contemments, especially upon the despatches of n ambassadors. There are no works of

anslated by Mrs. Austin; but the translation is ely out of print and can rarely be met with.
by Mrs. Austin. 3 vols. Fourth edition.

l part of this has been translated by M. A. 852); but this also is out of print and is only

Valter Kelly under the title 'The Ottoman (Whittakers, 1843); also out of print.

equal value to which the student of this period can be referred for knowledge of the history as a whole.

For English affairs, Hayward's 'Life of Edward VI.,' Goodwin's 'Life of Queen Mary,' and Camden's 'History of Elizabeth' are standard authorities. Mr. Froude's 'History of England' is admirable for the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, and his researches have thrown much light upon the politics and character of Elizabeth. Mr. Motley's 'Rise of the Dutch Republic' and 'History of the United Netherlands' give a detailed account of the revolt of the Netherlands, and bring to notice many characteristics of Elizabeth's government.

For the internal history of England, Hallam's 'Constitutional History' is indispensable. For ecclesiastical history, Strype's 'Annals of the Reformation' and 'Life of Parker' are important.

For the social history, Nichols's 'Progresses of Elizabeth,' Stow's 'Survey of London,' and Harrison's 'Description of England' at the beginning of Holinshed's Chronicle are of the greatest importance. Nathan Drake's 'Shakespeare and his Times' is a mine of interesting quotations from contemporary authors. Of Elizabeth's court life and personal character, Sir John Harrington's 'Nugæ Antiquæ' and Naunton's 'Fragmenta Regalia' give interesting accounts: Miss Aikin's 'Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth' collects a great deal of characteristic gossip.

For the history of trade, Macpherson's 'Annals of

Commerce' can be referred to. Mr. Fox Bourne's 'English Seamen under the Tudors' gives a clear account of English discoveries during this period.

In literary history I have not aimed at doing more than connecting the literary development of England with the great stimulus to national activity which the events of Elizabeth's reign supplied. The young student would gain more by reading one or two of the works referred to than by reading literary histories or criticisms on books which he has not read.

The ground which I have traversed in the social history of this period has been covered since I began to write by Mr. Green's 'History of the English People,' which has devoted considerable space to the social and literary history of Elizabeth's reign. To that work, in the first instance, I refer all who need more detailed information on these points.

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England	France	Germany	Spain	Popes	Scotland
Edward VI. 1547–1553	Henry II. 1547–1559	Charles V. 1519–1558	Charles I. 1516–1556	Paul III. 1534–1550	Mary 1542–1567
Mary 1553–1558				Julius III. 1550–1555	
	Francis II. 1559			Paul IV. 1555–1559	
Elizabeth 1558–1603	Charles IX. 1560–1574	Ferdinand I. 1558–1564	Philip II. 1556–1598	Pius IV. 1559–1566	
		Maximilian II. 1564–1576		Pius V. 1566–1572	James VI. 1567–1625
	Henry III. 1574–1589	Rudolf II. 1576–1612		Gregory XIII. 1572–1585	
	Henry IV. 1589–1609			Sixtus V. 1585–1590	
				Urban VII. 1590	
				Gregory XIV. 1590	
				Innocent IX. 1590–1592	
			Philip III. 1598–1621	Clement VIII. 1592–1605	

THE

AGE OF ELIZABETH.

INTRODUCTION.

THE period of the Reformation marks a great change in the general condition of Europe. It was a change which had been slowly coming, but which then first made itself decidedly and clearly known. New knowledge had arisen amongst the peoples of Europe, and new ideas had come from different sides. The old Latin writers were discovered, and read with eagerness; the fall of Constantinople sent many Greeks and much of the old Greek literature into Europe. The discovery of the New World extended men's ideas of their surroundings, and opened up a wide field for their speculations. National feeling had grown stronger throughout Europe, as the nations had become united under strong rulers. The Reformation.

The result of all this was that men's interests became more secular, that the old ecclesiastical system did not so entirely cover men's lives as it had done in the Middle Ages. The change may be seen by noticing how gradually the Crusading spirit passed into the spirit of colonisation. Both were founded on the love of adventure; but this when guided by ecclesiastical feeling led to the Crusades, when guided by national feeling led to colonisation. As men found that they had more interests outside the ecclesiastical system, they began more to Its causes.

criticise its organisation and working. They felt that man was not made for Church system, but Church system for man. There were demands on all sides for a reformation of the existing state of things.

It was impossible to advance in other matters until religion had first been dealt with. Everyone who wanted to make any improvement found that he must begin from religion in some shape or another. If he were a scholar, like Erasmus, who wanted to make men wiser, he soon found that the existing condition of religion stood in his way. If he were a politician, like Charles V., he soon found that religious questions were the chief ones which he had to consider in conducting affairs.

Some men were content with the old state of things, either from interested motives, or from real love for that form of worship in which they had been born and bred. Others wished to keep the old system but make a few alterations in it: they believed the government of the Church to be the right one, and to be, moreover, quite necessary, though they thought that it had been carelessly carried on, and needed improvement. Others declared that they could find no authority in Scripture for the existing system of the Church, and wished to change it altogether. Gradually men had to range themselves on one side or the other. Either they thought that in and through the Church only did man have communion with God; or they thought that God would receive any man who faithfully turned to Him. This was the broad distinction between the two parties we shall call Catholics and Protestants.

Its meaning.

Hence it was that religion naturally became the battle-field of the old and new state of things. A religious change was, moreover, most deep-reaching in its consequences. It could not be made without leading to changes in politics and society also. For a change in

belief meant a schism from the existing Christian community. This community was ruled over by the Pope, who kept together the different local authorities, and secured the unity of Western Christendom in ecclesiastical matters. A change of belief meant a revolt from his authority.

This was very difficult to carry out in any case. For the people who lived under one civil government were not likely all at the same time to agree to make this change. They differed in consequence about almost every point: for the old ecclesiastical system went down to the very foundation of daily life and affected almost everything that men did. In every State, therefore, there were divisions, and that too about serious matters. It was not merely a question of religious beliefs or forms of worship. The Church had large lands,—were these to go to the old religion or to the new religion, or were they to be taken for secular purposes? Were priests to be looked upon as ordinary men, or were they the sole channels through whom men could obtain saivation? Were they to marry, or were they not? These were questions that had to be settled in some way or another. Those who held to the old beliefs could not endure, without a struggle, to see all that they reverenced set aside. Not only must they keep to the old beliefs themselves, they must see also that the old system was handed down to those that came after them; they must see that it was not destroyed. So, too, those who had accepted the new beliefs felt that they must try to spread their own convictions, and must try to root out superstition. Nothing but discord could be the result of these opposite convictions. Questions raised by it.

The Reformation, then, introduced division into every State, division which was more or less bitter according as the two parties were more or less equally balanced.

But this was not all. Besides affecting the internal condition of States, the Reformation greatly affected their relations towards one another. According to the old state of things Christendom was one ; but now it had ceased to be so. According to the old ideas, the Emperor was the temporal Head of Christendom, and now it was to be expected that he would try and bring back unity, if it were at all possible. Besides all the other causes for quarrelling which existed in Europe between different States, difference of religion was now added.

The consequence of this was that politics and religion became most strangely mixed together. Not only were there two parties in each State in open or concealed warfare with one another, but also all the relations between States were regulated very greatly by religious considerations. Protestantism began simply enough in an attempt to worship God more in accordance with the dictates of reason and conscience. This attempt, however harmless it might seem, really meant a great change in the government of the State which allowed it to be made. It meant also a great change in all the political relations of Europe.

Mixture of politics and religion.

It was hardly likely that these changes could be made peaceably ; the interests involved were too great. Only after a period of internal struggle did each nation decide which side it was going to take. Only after a period of great conflict did Europe form itself into a new political system.

The interest of the first half of the sixteenth century lies in tracing the causes that brought about the religious movement, and in seeing how the new principles were at first worked out. The interest of the last half of the sixteenth century lies in seeing the political effects which were produced by the religious movement, when it had

Important points in the history of the sixteenth century.

once taken root. These political results, as we have seen, were of two kinds—they affected the nations separately, and they affected Europe as a whole. We have, then, to keep before us these two main points :—

1. The internal conflicts of the nations of Europe before each decided which side in religion it should take as a nation.

2. The changes in the political relations of Europe generally which the Reformation brought about.

It is, of course, impossible to keep these two points separate from one another; but it will be easier to understand what was going on, and to see the reasons for the relative importance of events, if these two main points be kept in view.

Religious condition of Europe in the middle of the sixteenth century.

In the middle of the sixteenth century the revolt against the authority of the Pope had spread over the greater part of northern Europe. Norway, Sweden, and Denmark had accepted the Protestant teaching. England had thrown off obedience to the Pope, though Henry VIII. was not in favour of any great change in doctrine. Germany was divided into Protestant and Catholic States, the Protestants prevailing in the north, and the Catholics in the south. The Swiss Cantons were divided into Catholic and Protestant, but the Swiss Protestants were not agreed with the Protestants of Germany. There were also Protestants in France, Scotland, and the Netherlands, though, as yet, they had not made any very important advance.

We shall have to trace the fortunes of the Reformation in the following countries :

(1.) In Germany, where a temporary toleration was devised.

(2.) In England, where the revolt from Rome was

confirmed, and Protestant opinions were seen to be necessary to the political liberty of the country.

(3.) In Scotland, where the people shook off Catholicism almost at once, and changed their old political attitude to agree with their new religious condition.

(4.) In the Netherlands, where Protestantism fostered a desire for freedom, and supported the people in a long war against Spain.

(5.) In France, where a long period of civil war was caused by religious differences, but, in the end, Catholicism proved itself to be more deeply rooted than Protestantism.

Besides these occurrences in the separate countries we have to see how the struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism in Europe generally tended to centre round the two powers of England and Spain. The result of this struggle was that England began to take the foremost position in Europe, while Spain, though still wearing the appearance of outward strength, grew internally weaker and weaker.

BOOK I.

RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT IN GERMANY AND ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT IN GERMANY.

GERMANY consisted of a number of small States, each under the rule of their hereditary Prince, and of a number of Free Cities, who were under no control except that of the Emperor, which was very slight. The German king, when he received coronation from the Pope, became Emperor, and was looked upon as the head of Christendom. Under his presidency the Princes of the Empire and Representatives of the Cities met together at a Diet to settle matters of common interest for Germany.

Germany and the Reformation

When many of the States and Cities of Germany followed Luther's teaching, and shook off the old ecclesiastical system, they were of course opposed by those that remained Catholic. To protect themselves they formed, in 1529, a league known as the League of Smalkald, from the place where it was concluded. The Catholics formed a league against them, and so Germany was divided into two opposite camps.

Charles V. had been Emperor since 1519, and he would have interfered to put down Protestantism in Germany at its first growth, if he had been able. He was, however, ruler of so many other countries besides Germany, that he could not attend to Germany alone. As King of Spain he had to war against the Moorish corsairs, who injured the Spanish trade. As the inheritor of the possessions of the Dukes of Burgundy he had to war with the King of France. As Emperor he had to make good his position in Italy. As head of the house of Austria, as well as head of Christendom, he had to drive out the Ottoman Turks, who pressed up the Danube valley, and threatened to extend their conquests over Europe.

Projects of Charles V.

All these things employed Charles V., and he needed all the help that he could get from Germany to enable him to carry out these great undertakings. In Germany he was king; but he was checked by the independent power of the Princes and the Free Cities, and could raise money and troops only for such purposes as they approved of. Many of them were in favour of the Reformation, and would not help him in any undertaking directed against Protestantism. He thought it wise, therefore, to leave Protestantism alone at first, and to draw from the gratitude of the Protestant Princes the help that he needed for his other political designs. He opposed Protestantism, for he was Emperor and head of the Catholic world. But he was not, therefore, a devoted adherent of the Papacy, and was convinced that some religious changes were necessary. These changes he hoped to be able to introduce when he had leisure; meanwhile he let matters take their course in Germany, so far as not to interfere forcibly.

At last, in 1544, Charles V. had put down the pirates, had succeeded in making himself master of the greater

part of Italy, had seen the Ottomans fall [redacted] most threatening position, and had made peace with France. Now he could turn his attention to Germany. His plan was to compel the Pope to summon a General Council, at which the points in dispute between Catholics and Protestants should be settled. But the Protestants refused to acknowledge such a council, and Charles, with the help of the Pope, declared war against the Smalkaldic League in 1546.

Charles V. attacks the Protestants.

Many Protestants helped him; for not all of them belonged to the league, and some hoped to get toleration without resistance to the authority of the State. The chief leaders of the Smalkaldic army were John Frederic, Elector of Saxony, and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse. Their army was stronger than the Emperor's, but was broken up by the retreat of the Elector. His Electorate had been attacked in his absence by his nephew Maurice, who though a Protestant was fighting on the Emperor's side. When once the Smalkaldic forces were broken, the Emperor reduced the Protestant cities one by one. Next year he defeated the Elector, and took him prisoner; the Landgrave of Hesse submitted to him, and was also kept in prison. It seemed as though Protestantism were entirely ruined.

But, meanwhile, the Pope had become alarmed at this success: he had also quarrelled with the Emperor about the possession of some towns in Italy. He was afraid that Charles V. might settle religious matters in a way unfavourable to the Papacy. So he broke up the Council, which had begun to sit at Trent, as he thought that place was too much under the Emperor's power.

Difficulties of Charles V.

Thus Charles V. had compelled the Protestants to obey the Council, but there was no Council to obey. Hereupon he took a step like Henry VIII., and published a decree called the 'Interim' (1548), which enacted the old

[redacted]stem with a few changes, and toleration on a few points. This was to be the religion of Germany till the Council could go on.

The 'Interim,' however, was liked by neither party. To the Protestants it was as bad as Romanism; to the Catholics it seemed to be an arbitrary interference in religious matters. Moreover, the national feeling of the Germans was hurt by the way in which the Emperor enforced obedience to it and kept a foreign army in Germany. The German princes also were aggrieved by the imprisonment of the Elector and the Landgrave—it was an infringement of the rights of the princes as a class, which no prince could see with satisfaction.

Opposition to Charles V.

Maurice had been made Elector of Saxony by the Emperor for his services. He was a Protestant; but the Emperor wished to show that he punished, not opinions, but disobedience. Perhaps Maurice had hoped for greater toleration for Protestantism, and was now disappointed. Perhaps his policy was entirely selfish, and he had only helped the Emperor that he might get the Electorate of Saxony for himself; now that he had got it he saw he could only keep it by helping Protestantism against the Emperor. It is hard to say which of these views is true. Maurice is one of the most puzzling characters in history; he was a master of deceit, and he died (1553) before he had time to go far enough with his plans to enable us to judge what he really meant.

Maurice of Saxony.

At all events Maurice of Saxony laid a deep plan against the Emperor. Seeing that the German Protestants were not strong enough to fight by themselves, he entered into an alliance with Henry II. of France. Henry II. had only lately come to the throne, and was willing enough to signalise his reign by striking a blow at the great enemy of France.

Reaction against Charles V.

Maurice, laying his plans with deep secrecy, managed to keep together the army with which he had been besieging the Protestant town of Magdeburg in the Emperor's name. As he found that two of his secretaries were spies of the Emperor's, he kept them in his service, and wrote false letters, whose contents were meant to deceive the Emperor. Then, when all was ready, and the Emperor, entirely unprepared, was at Innsbruck, where he had gone to look after the reassembling of the Council of Trent, Maurice took the field against him. Charles V. had to flee from Innsbruck in the middle of the night, and only left it two hours before Maurice entered. The French, meanwhile, had entered Lorraine, and taken Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Charles V.'s prestige was broken; he had no money and no troops; he must make peace in Germany, unless he was prepared to see Germany permanently divided. If he hesitated, the result would be that the Catholic States would go with Austria, and the Protestant States would form a new power, under the protection of France.

So, sorely against his will, Charles V. had to agree to a peace. At a meeting at Passau, in 1552, Maurice demanded toleration for the Protestants—toleration granted to them for themselves, without any condition of a future Council, or any mention of Papal permission. The Emperor could not be prevailed upon to grant this; it seemed to him to be a neglect of his duty as head of Christendom. He would only grant toleration until a Diet had been held to settle uniformity.

Convention of Passau.

Really, Charles V.'s plans had failed. He was a firm believer in the old political system which depended on outward unity. He had hoped to unite his vast dominions into one great power. For this purpose he was prepared to make a few changes in the old political and ecclesiastical system,

Failure of Charles V.'s plans.

though he was not prepared to move from the main ideas on which they were founded. Spain, Italy, Sicily, and the Netherlands he knew how to manage. He won over, says a Venetian ambassador, the Spaniards by his gravity and wisdom, the Italians by his success, the Flemings by his geniality and kindliness; but the Germans, in spite of his efforts, he never understood. So, when he had succeeded everywhere else, he failed in Germany. The German princes, Protestant and Catholic alike, looked with entire disfavour on his attempt to make a strong central power in Germany. The German people, Protestant and Catholic alike, failed to understand his moderate position in ecclesiastical matters; they wanted either no change at all, or much more sweeping changes than he was prepared for. So the opposition to him had grown strong just as his plans had seemed on the point of success. When that opposition had openly declared itself, he had to choose between the surrender of his plans and a new hazardous war, by which he would run great risk of losing the Netherlands and Protestant Germany together.

Charles V. gave way for the present; the future still depended on his success against France. He laid siege to Metz with a large army; but it was to no purpose. His troops began to die as winter came on, and Charles was obliged to raise the siege, saying, with a sigh, that 'Fortune was a woman, and did not favour the old.'

After this failure, there was no course left but concession. The Diet of Augsburg in 1555 confirmed the peace agreed to at Passau. The Protestants were to practise their own religion, wherever it had been at that time established. Henceforth, all Princes and Cities might tolerate or prohibit either religion within their territories. The maxim, 'cujus regio ejus religio' (he who rules the country may settle its religion) was now distinctly accepted.

Diet of Augsburg, 1555.

By this decree of the Diet of Augsburg the Protestants obtained for the first time a legal position within the Empire. Their right to maintain their religion was unconditionally recognised. Henceforth Catholicism could not claim to be the established religion of Germany. No Emperor could lawfully attack Protestant princes on the ground of their Protestantism only. The new religion had obtained legal recognition. But still there were many points left unsettled, and there were many points which were not likely to be settled peaceably at once. One question, especially, about which there was no agreement, was of pressing importance. What was to become of the ecclesiastical property of bishops, or other ecclesiastics, who joined the Reformed communion? Was Church land to become secularised when its ecclesiastical holder became a Protestant, married and had children? Were the lands given in past time to the old Church, to pass over to this new sect? On the other hand, was it fair to the Protestants that all the vast districts at present under the rule of ecclesiastics should always belong to the Catholic powers, and always be exempt from Protestant influence? No agreement could be come to on this point by the Diet; but it was settled by a decree of the Emperor, that any prelate who joined the Reformed body, should forthwith vacate his ecclesiastical office, with all its possessions, and a new election should at once be made to his office. This, which was called the *Ecclesiastical Reservation*, was merely a decree of the Emperor, and was not accepted by the Protestants as a definite law. For the present, both parties were content to let matters rest. Peace had been patched up for a time, but no one expected it to last. The Reformation struggle paused in Germany for the rest of the century, only to break out with greater violence in the terrible Thirty Years War.

Religious difficulties still unsettled.

Meanwhile, however, it remained to be seen if Charles V. would agree to this new state of things. It was entirely opposed to his views of the unity of his dominions, and he would not have accepted it if it had been possible for him to stand out against it. But he saw that the Protestants in Germany, aided by France, were too strong for him, unless he could get a powerful ally. He turned his attention, for this end, to England. The future depended on the success of the connexion now established between England and the Austro-Spanish power.

Hopes of Charles V.

CHAPTER II.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND UNDER EDWARD VI.—1547—1553.

'THE Emperor is aiming at the sovereignty of Europe, which he cannot obtain without the suppression of the Reformed religion; and unless he crushes the English nation, he cannot crush the Reformation.' This remark of Sir William Cecil may serve to explain the position in which first the Emperor, Charles V., and afterwards his son, Philip II., King of Spain, stood towards England. Their schemes for political supremacy were founded upon the old idea of European politics, which regarded Europe as a confederacy of nations under the headship of Pope and Emperor. England was the first nation which, as a nation, broke away from this state of things; it was of the greatest importance to the house of Austria and Spain that this rebellion should not be made good.

Position of Charles V. towards England.

The movement against the Papacy had been of long standing in England. The English Church had never submitted unreservedly to Papal control, and Papal encroachments had been guarded against, especially in the reigns of Edward I. and Edward III., by stringent laws. At a time when general discontent with the Papacy prevailed in Europe particular cause for discontent was given to Henry VIII. As the royal power was then at its greatest height in England, Parliament transferred to the king the title of 'Supreme Head of the Church of England,' and abolished all the rights over the Church in England which the Pope at that time claimed.

Reformation under Henry VIII.

This abolition of the Pope's power was all that Henry VIII., and perhaps a majority of the English people, meant at first by the measures taken in his reign. Henry's plan was to maintain the Church discipline and doctrines unchanged, but to maintain them without the authority of the Pope.

As time went on it became clear that this was impossible. The 'men of the new learning' continued to apply to religious matters the tests of reason, or of primitive custom, and much of the existing system was beginning to crumble away before them. Many, on seeing this, became alarmed, and asked themselves the question—'Where is this to stop?' Afraid of the risk attending further enquiry, they went back to the old Papal system, as being surer than the novelties they heard on every side. They went back again to their old convictions, determined to meddle no more with change, but henceforth to fight the battle of the Pope.

State of religious parties.

So, too, with the common people. They seem at first to have been willing enough to have the Pope set aside. But in the dissolution of the monasteries and its results,

they soon began to see and feel what the royal headship of the Church might mean. Many who had seen with joy the monasteries fall, soon felt that their joy had been without cause. The monastery lands had passed to harder masters; the taxes, which they had fondly hoped they never would have to pay again, were soon levied as if the royal coffers were no better filled than before. Many felt a great want in the associations of their daily life when they looked at the ruined piles with which so much that was solemn in their own lives had been connected. A large party, certainly the majority of the people, wished the old state of things quietly back again.

Against these was set a party of earnest men—thoroughly convinced of the badness of all that had gone on before, and wishing only to carry the changes further, so as to uproot everything that might still tend to keep the old errors alive.

So long as Henry VIII. reigned, the more violent members of these two parties were kept down, and Henry forced his own position—the old Church system without a Pope—upon all alike. He seems, however, to have moved on, in his later days, in the direction of further reforms; and he was inclined still more towards the party of the new learning by the violent conduct of the Earl of Surrey, which brought suspicion on his father also, the Duke of Norfolk, who was at the head of the Papal party.

When Henry died (Jan. 28, 1547), he appointed by his will a council of sixteen members, who were to manage affairs during the minority of his young son, Edward VI. Amongst the members of the Council there was a majority of the men of the new learning, and the future movement of the Reformation in England depended upon the way in which they would act.

Accession of Edward VI.

The Council seems to have felt the difficulty of its position. In the unsettled state of affairs it was necessary that the will of one man should guide the State. The Council therefore appointed one of their number, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, Protector of the Realm. He was made Duke of Somerset, in accordance, it was said, with the late king's wish. As being Edward VI.'s uncle, he was likely to maintain his interests.

The Duke of Somerset was the head of the Protestant party, and soon made known his intention of carrying out the Reformation as far as he could. In this he was aided by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, whose opinions during the later years of Henry VIII. had been slowly forming themselves after the model of the German Reformers. A series of measures were at once carried out which made England a Protestant nation in matters of doctrine as well as in Church government.

The Reformation under the Protector Somerset.

First, a royal visitation of the whole kingdom was held. Commissioners were sent into every diocese to see that the Church services were properly conducted. A book of homilies composed by Cranmer was given to the clergy to be read in churches, and also a copy of Erasmus' paraphrase of the New Testament. The services were made simpler and more uniform by the publication of the Book of Common Prayer. This, which is now known as the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., was compiled by Cranmer out of the old service-books, with a few changes. It has since undergone a few alterations and received a few additions, especially in 1662; but Cranmer's Prayer Book is in the main the same as that which is used by the Church of England at the present day. The fact that it is still looked upon with such affection and reverence after three centuries is the best proof that can be given of Cranmer's moderation and wisdom.

On every side there were signs of the fall of the old system. Archbishop Cranmer ate meat openly in Lent; images were pulled down in the churches; an Act of Parliament was passed, allowing the marriage of the clergy. The object of the new system was to recognise Scripture and not tradition as the basis of men's belief.

These measures met with the approval of a majority of thinking men in England. They were popular in London, and in the larger towns. But in the country generally they were accepted without being approved of. There was a smouldering discontent on every side. It was only by a successful government in other respects that Somerset was likely to put his religious measures upon a secure footing. Let us see, then, how far his other plans succeeded.

The first point to which he turned his attention was a union between Scotland and England. Henry VII. and Henry VIII. had both laboured for this object; for they saw that England could never hold an independent position in Europe so long as Scotland was an enemy always on the watch to take advantage of her momentary weakness. James V. of Scotland had died in 1542, leaving an infant daughter, Mary, as heir to the Scottish throne. Henry VIII. had endeavoured to bring about a marriage between Mary and his son Edward, and this policy was pursued by Somerset. First he tried negotiations, and when these failed, he advanced with an army into Scotland. The Scots were defeated with great loss at the battle of Pinkie-cleugh, not far from Edinburgh (September 10, 1547). Somerset, however, had not time to follow up his victory. His presence was wanted in England, and he hastily left Scotland without having accomplished his object.

Somerset's dealings with Scotland.

By this expedition, Somerset obtained for the time

great military glory in England; but he increased the taxes of the people, who could ill endure to be taxed further. He also sowed so deep hatred in the heart of the Scots that they now threw themselves without reserve into the arms of France, their old ally. The Scottish lords determined to bind France firmly to Scotland by the marriage of their young queen with the dauphin. Mary was sent to France in August, 1548, to be educated till she was old enough for marriage. All hope of an alliance between England and Scotland was now at an end, and Somerset's endeavours to bring it about had only succeeded in making it impossible. Moreover, Scotland, by its alliance with France, had pledged itself to Catholicism, and Protestantism would meet from it with bitter opposition.

In this point, then, Somerset had failed; but still greater difficulties soon beset him at home. He had inherited from the last reign great financial troubles. The country was in debt, in spite of all the confiscations of ecclesiastical property, and the coinage had been depreciated in value, as a means of enabling Government to pay off its debts. This policy, however, had produced very disastrous results in the unsettled state of the country generally. The depreciation of the currency at once increased prices. This made little difference to the merchant or trader, who paid a higher price for what he bought, and got a higher price for what he sold. But the changes which were coming about in methods of cultivation, owing to the large amount of land which had suddenly changed hands after the dissolution of the monasteries, prevented a proportionate increase in the wages of labourers. Large estates were now brought together into the hands of one landlord, and it was soon found that large farms were more profitable when used for grazing than when used for growing corn.

Troubles in England.

English wool could be sold to Flanders for a high price; and so large sheep-farms became the chief agricultural industry of England.

This change was bad for the labourers in many ways. Grazing farms, to be profitable, must be large, while corn may be grown, and give a small profit, on small estates. The growth of large sheep-farms tended to diminish the number of small tillage-farms, and so of small farmers, throughout the land. Again, large grazing-farms require quiet and solitude, and villages were pulled down to make the district better suited for the purpose. Grazing-farms also require fewer labourers than tillage-farms, and many men were thrown out of employment, and so the rate of wages was kept low.

Nor was this all. The monasteries had been indulgent landowners, and had never pressed their rights to the utmost. The new landowners, however, were far different. They enclosed all the waste land and common land which they could, and so deprived many families of their only livelihood.

We cannot, then, be surprised that the poor were discontented with the Government, and connected their present misery with the religious change. The monasteries had gone, but the people were worse off than before. They wished that the old state of things was back again. This feeling led, in the summer of 1549, to risings of the peasants in many of the counties, which were easily checked at first. They, however, alarmed Somerset, who saw the evil of which the peasants complained, and did not wish to have the lower classes opposed to Protestantism. He therefore appointed commissioners to enquire into their grievances, and to remove the enclosures of the commons. This angered the gentry, who were the owners of the land, and encouraged the peasants to take into their own hands the redress of their

wrongs. The insurrection broke out again in a more serious form. Particularly in Norfolk, under the leadership of Robert Ket, the insurgents became very formidable, and were only put down after a severe struggle, by the Earl of Warwick, whose forces were largely composed of German mercenaries.

By his conduct in this matter, Somerset had set against himself the landowners, and had only beguiled the peasants to their ruin. His policy had failed as regarded Scotland, and it failed no less as regarded France. He was of opinion that peace must be made with France, at the price of the surrender of Boulogne, of the capture of which, in Henry VIII.'s reign, England was still proud. This step, however, was so unpopular that he did not dare to take it. France, encouraged by the troubled state of England and having no fear of the Emperor, who was busied in reducing Germany, sent a large army against Boulogne in August 1549. It was clear that Boulogne would soon fall, as Somerset had not sufficient troops at his command to meet the French army in the field.

Somerset's dealings with France.

Added to all this, Somerset had become personally unpopular. The execution of his brother, Thomas, Lord Seymour, however justifiable, had given a great shock to popular feeling. There is no doubt that Lord Seymour, who was Lord High Admiral, was desirous of supplanting his brother. The times were times of wild ambition and desperate plotting for place and power. Lord Seymour had married the late king's widow with indecent haste, and after her early death had planned to obtain the hand of the Princess Elizabeth. He had tried to set the young king against the Protector, and to win his confidence himself. He was gathering troops for an attack upon his brother, and was robbing the Government by receiving money

Somerset's unpopularity.

fraudulently coined. On these charges he was attainted, and was beheaded in 1548. Somerset was rid of a dangerous rival; but the popular voice was loudly raised against the ambition that could require a brother's blood.

Somerset, though sincere in his zeal for Protestantism, was also ambitious for his own greatness, and was proud, haughty, and high-handed in his behaviour. He treated the young king with harshness, and kept him under great restraint. He himself affected almost kingly magnificence. He wrote to the king of France as 'brother.' He built himself a splendid palace, Somerset House, in the Strand, and spared nothing to make it worthy of his position. To provide a site for it he had pulled down a parish church, and carried off materials from the ruins of chapels. His personal haughtiness to those around him had become very offensive, and one of his friends did not scruple to write to him—'Of late your grace is grown in great choleric fashions, wheresoever you are contraried in that which you have conceived in your head.'

The opposition to Somerset soon found a leader in John Dudley, Earl of Warwick. He was the son of the minister of Henry VII. who had been put to death amid the joy of the people, soon after the accession of Henry VIII. But Henry VIII. delighted to show that he could cast down and could raise up. John Dudley was gradually taken into his favour, was created Viscount Lisle, and was left one of the executors of the king's will, and, as such, a member of the Privy Council. When the Earl of Hertford was raised to the title of Duke of Somerset, Lord Lisle was also created Earl of Warwick. Gradually he had gained an ascendancy over the Council, and to him, rather than to Somerset, was given the command against the insurgent peasants. When he returned

Fall of Somerset.

from his victory over Ket, he openly opposed the Protector, and at last a quarrel broke out between the Council and Somerset. Both parties began to raise troops; but Somerset found that his popularity was gone. He was obliged to submit, to resign the office of Protector, to ask pardon for his offences and to retire into private life (Dec. 1549). His life was spared for a while, but he was found to be too powerful for the safety of his opponents. Changes of ministry were in those days thought secure only when established by the death of the fallen minister. Somerset plotted to regain his position. He formed a plan to raise London in his defence, and so laid himself open to a charge of high-treason, for which he was condemned to death, and beheaded on January 22, 1552.

On Somerset's fall, Warwick was the head of the Government. In spite of the unpopularity of the measure, he was compelled to carry out Somerset's plan of peace with France. There were no hopes of saving Boulogne. England was impoverished, and had no troops. Her chief men were engaged, during the young king's minority, in struggling for their own ambitious ends. Her people were oppressed by poverty, and distracted by religious discord. Peace, therefore, was made with France in the spring of 1550, and Boulogne was restored. Scotland, also, which was weary of war, was included in the peace. It was important for the French king at this time to have his hands free that he might be able to help the Protestants in Germany, and strike a blow at Charles V.

Government of Warwick.

Warwick was not, like Somerset, a man of deep religious convictions, nor had he any object except self-interest in his desire for power. The Catholic party at first hoped that he would undo his rival's Protestant measures. Perhaps, however, he was afraid, if he did so,

of again strengthening Somerset's hands by putting him at the head of a strong religious party. The young king also had formed very decided Protestant opinions, and Warwick could not have made any changes without coming into direct collision with the king, in whose name and for whose interest he professed to govern. The Catholic expectations, therefore, were disappointed, and Warwick, having declared for the Reformation, helped to carry out measures of a more decidedly Protestant character.

Progress of the English Reformation.

The success of Charles V. in Germany drove many of the leading German Reformers to seek shelter elsewhere. In England they were kindly received by Cranmer, whose own opinions advanced still further in a Protestant direction, from his intercourse with them. The most famous of these exiles, Peter Martyr and Bucer, were appointed to teach theology at the two universities, and everywhere the ideas of the English Reformers received a strong impulse from Lutheran teachers. This led to a great increase of reforming zeal, but also to greater lawlessness. Many different opinions prevailed on many matters, and this was viewed with alarm, as the unity of the State was believed to depend on a unity of religious belief. Hence the Prayer Book was again revised, and its use made compulsory by an Act of Parliament, which rendered it penal to be present at any religious service different from that therein prescribed. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Bonner, Bishop of London, who had before been suspected and imprisoned, were now deprived of their sees. To define more clearly the limits of the changes which the English Church had made, Archbishop Cranmer, in imitation of the Continental Reformers, compiled and issued the Articles of Religion. These, at first, numbered forty-two, but have since been reduced to thirty-nine. They, like the Prayer Book, have undergone some alterations

since Cranmer's day, but in the main they continue such as he first issued.

England was now decidedly Protestant. But it would take some time before the changes that had been made could sink down thoroughly amongst the people. The wildness and lawlessness of some Protestant teachers did much to alarm the people and make them fear the tendency of the changes which had been made. This led to repression on the part of the Government; and when the Reformers are charged with intolerance it must be remembered that religion could not, in those times, be a matter merely of individual opinion. Upon the maintenance of unity, up to a certain point, depended social order and national strength.

It is to be regretted that the leading statesmen under Edward VI. were influenced, almost entirely, by selfish motives, and that many of the leading ecclesiastics spent much of their time and energies in quarrels about points of small importance. The Reformed doctrines were not commended to the ignorant people by the wisdom, the charity, or the alluring character of its chief political promoters. As an instance of the want of any directing zeal may be taken the dealings of the king's advisers with Ireland, where, with a view of discouraging the use of the Irish language, it was ordered that the Irish should only have the church services read to them in English. This is one reason of the ill-success of the Reformation movement in Ireland. It came to the people in a form imposed upon them by their rulers, a form which professed to appeal only to their convictions, yet which was conveyed in a language they could not understand.

Protestantism in England had not as yet become a national movement. The political leaders had adopted it, some through conviction, some for interested motives. It was genuinely accepted and zealously spread by a

number of earnest converts. But the great mass of the people were content to obey the laws, though their lingering sentiment inclined in favour of the old state of things, whose evils were forgotten now that they had been removed, while the evils of the change were severely felt and their influence on the present misery exaggerated.

The failing health of the young king filled the supporters of the Reformation with alarm. According to the settlement of the succession under Henry VIII., the Princess Mary, his daughter by Catherine of Arragon, was to succeed. Mary never forgot her Spanish descent nor her mother's wrongs, and the religious change in England was necessarily connected in her mind with the thoughts of an insult offered to herself by the declaration of her illegitimacy. She never forgot also that she was the Emperor's cousin, and the example of his policy in Germany was not likely to be thrown away upon her. The possibility of her accession filled the dominant party with alarm. They saw in it destruction to themselves and their plans.

Northumberland's plot.

As Edward VI.'s health grew worse, and it became evident that he had not long to live, the ambition of the Duke of Northumberland, for such was Warwick's new title, found out a scheme for altering the succession to the throne in a manner favourable to himself and Protestantism. Edward VI. was convinced that it was his duty to save the country from the danger of a return to 'Papistry.' He was persuaded that he had power to settle the succession by will as much as his father had. He forgot that his father had had that power conferred upon him by Act of Parliament. When once he was convinced, he shared all his father's determination and strength of will. The legal scruples of the judges were overruled by his stern and imperious commands. The moral scruples of Archbishop Cranmer had to bow be-

fore the young king's will. With his own hand the dying boy drew out the draft of an instrument which was to secure to England a Protestant Queen.

Mary, he argued, was barred by illegitimacy, as was also Elizabeth. By Henry VIII.'s will the line of his younger sister, Mary, who had married Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, had been preferred for the succession to the line of his elder sister, Margaret, who had married James IV. of Scotland.[1] Mary's eldest daughter had married Grey, Duke of Suffolk, and their eldest child, the Lady Jane Grey, who had been recently married to Northumberland's son, the Lord Guildford Dudley, was chosen by the dying Edward for his successor. Northumberland counted upon the Protestant feeling in London to support him. He strengthened his family connexions by intermarriages, and trusted that France would work with him to prevent the Emperor's cousin from ascending the English throne.

When Edward VI. died (July 6, 1553) at the early age of seventeen, Queen Jane was duly proclaimed. The people, however, taken by surprise at this change, received their new queen in silence. The English people have always respected law, and religious discord had not yet created among them such strong party feeling as to make them ready for violent measures. Northumberland soon found that he was mistaken in his hopes of strong popular support. He had also not succeeded in seizing the Princess Mary. She fled to Norwich, where she had been proclaimed queen, and where many lords flocked to her standard. Moreover, Northumberland had difficulties with the queen whom he had chosen. Though only a girl of sixteen, she was wise beyond her years, and had a high sense of the duties of her office. Her first exclamation, when she heard that she was queen, was a fervent prayer that

Lady Jane Grey.

[1] See Genealogical table on p. 33.

God would give her strength to wield her sceptre for the nation's good. Northumberland found that he could not use her as a puppet. She refused to have her husband crowned with herself. Those who had joined Northumberland from purely selfish motives began to fall away when they saw that he would not be absolute even if he succeeded.

Northumberland's scheme, therefore, entirely failed. He advanced against Mary, but found that his troops fell away from him. At last, in Cambridge, losing heart at the desertions, he proclaimed Mary queen while the tears ran down his face. Mary now entered London unopposed. The Lady Jane was committed to the Tower. Northumberland pleaded guilty to the charge of high-treason, and was beheaded. On the scaffold he told the people that he died in the old religion, and that ambition only had led him to conform to the late changes. It is impossible to feel any sympathy for him. He was a man without any principle, except that of self-advancement, and his plan to alter the succession was badly laid and negligently carried out. His selfish policy, his irreligious life, and his hypocrisy or cowardice at the last, made him a most fatal friend to the Reformation. It was because the affairs of England were managed by men like him under Edward VI. that Protestant principles did not take deeper root, and the reaction that followed became possible.

Failure and death of Northumberland.

CHAPTER III.

CATHOLIC REACTION IN ENGLAND.—1553—1555.

THE accession of Mary occurred at a time when Charles V. was looking for some means of strengthening himself against France, and again making himself su-

preme in Germany. Mary was his cousin, and had been brought up in traditional reverence of his wisdom and power. During the last reign, Charles had interfered to procure for her the right of celebrating mass according to the Roman use, which Edward VI. was desirous to stop, according to the law. Mary, at her accession, found herself without a friend whom she could entirely trust. She was fervently attached to the old religion, and her fondest desire was to restore it in England. She threw herself upon the Emperor for support in this, and trusted to his wisdom for her guidance.

Queen Mary and Charles V.

It is this that gives Mary's reign its interest. If England could only be allied firmly with Spain, and brought back to the old state of things, Charles V.'s policy might still succeed. The Austro-Spanish power might be established as supreme in Europe. Change would be rolled back, and future reorganisation would depend on the Emperor's will.

The ideas of Charles V. were, in the main points, much the same as those of Henry VIII. He would have no change in doctrine or in Church discipline; but he wished to see flagrant abuses reformed, and the Pope's power rendered subordinate to his own. We see in Mary and Philip the result of the struggle of the previous generation. They were both one-sided and bigoted; both submitted themselves entirely to the Pope, and by the very severity of their reactionary measures rendered their success impossible. So scrupulous was Mary even about small matters that she put off her coronation till she had received the oil to be used at the ceremony from Granvella, Bishop of Arras. She was afraid that the English oil might have lost its virtue, owing to the schism from Rome.

Charles V.'s advice to Mary.

The policy which Charles V. prescribed was one of

moderation and tolerance till she felt secure. Then the alliance with himself was to be secured by Mary's marriage with his son Philip. Afterwards the restoration of the old state of things might be brought about gradually by legal means. Charles V. well knew the temper of the English people, and did not deceive himself about the difficulties of the marriage. He wished Mary, above all things, to secure her throne first of all, and warned her not to imperil it by offending her people.

Religious changes.

The religious question, however, could not be left unsettled. Mary herself attended the mass service according to the old usage, and in many places the old services were again introduced. The bishops of the Catholic party, who had been deprived of office in the last reign, were restored to their sees, and the Reforming bishops were in their turn committed to the Tower. Cranmer drew this upon himself by boldly publishing a letter in which he expressed his grief at hearing that the mass service had been restored in Canterbury Cathedral. He denounced its 'blasphemies,' and offered to prove publicly that the Reformed doctrines were in accordance with Scripture. Ridley, Bishop of London, and Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, soon followed Cranmer to the Tower.

Gardiner made Chancellor.

The Queen's chief adviser was Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, whom she delivered from the Tower, where he had been confined during the late reign. Gardiner is the last of the great ecclesiastical statesmen in whom mediæval England was so rich. He was a statesman rather than an ecclesiastic, and the odium which has been attached to his name as a persecutor does not seem to be fairly his due. Gardiner was a thorough Englishman. He had been one of the foremost in urging the abolition of the Pope's supremacy under Henry VIII. He wished for a national Church,

but he did not wish in consequence to see any changes in doctrine or in ceremonies. He could not, therefore, agree with any of the changes in the late reign, and he honestly wished to abolish them.

Gardiner, therefore, as Lord Chancellor, directed Mary's policy when she met her Parliament. The Crown interest had no doubt been greatly used to get a Parliament agreeable to the queen's views. But the heads of the Reforming party were scattered. All were discredited by the failure of Northumberland's plot; some were in prison; many had fled to the parts of the Continent where they might hold their opinions in safety. The middle classes of the large towns were, on the whole, in favour of the late changes; but the country people were, on the whole, of Gardiner's opinion—they wanted to have the old state of things, but to be rid of the Pope.

Under these circumstances we cannot feel much surprise that Gardiner found the new Parliament easy to manage. All the enactments affecting Queen Catherine's divorce were repealed, and Mary's legitimacy fully established. It was determined to go back to Henry VIII.'s policy. The Prayer Book was abolished, and all the changes of the late reign were undone. Religion was restored to the condition in which it had been left at the death of Henry VIII. Catholic restoration.

So far, Mary had advanced without difficulty. The next question to be settled was her marriage with Philip. So well did Charles V. know the opposition this plan was likely to meet with that he would not allow it to be complicated with any further question of the Pope's supremacy. At once, on the news of Mary's accession, Cardinal Pole was sent as the Pope's legate to England; but on his way through the Netherlands he received orders from the Emperor to go no further without his permission. There were many in Mary's marriage schemes.

England who wished Mary to marry Pole; for Reginald Pole's mother, the Countess of Salisbury, was a daughter of the Duke of Clarence, Edward IV.'s brother, and through her Pole could claim a royal descent.[1] During Henry VIII.'s reign, Pole had gone into exile rather than recognise the royal supremacy. He incurred Henry's anger by writing a most violent book against his divorce. In his plots against Henry's throne he so far involved his mother and brothers that they died as traitors on the scaffold.

The candidate, however, of the English was Courtenay, Earl of Devon, whom Mary had released from the Tower. He was recommended by his youth, his noble family, and his descent from the old royal house of England through his grandmother, who was a daughter of Edward IV.* His own misconduct, however, gave Mary a plausible excuse for rejecting his claims. She was determined to marry Philip; and though Gardiner at first opposed this most earnestly, yet, when he saw the queen's mind was thoroughly made up, he did his best to protect the interests of England, and make the marriage as little disastrous as might be to the nation and the queen. The terms which he drew up, and which the Emperor was obliged to accept, gave Philip no royal title over England, no rights of succession, and no legal influence over English affairs.

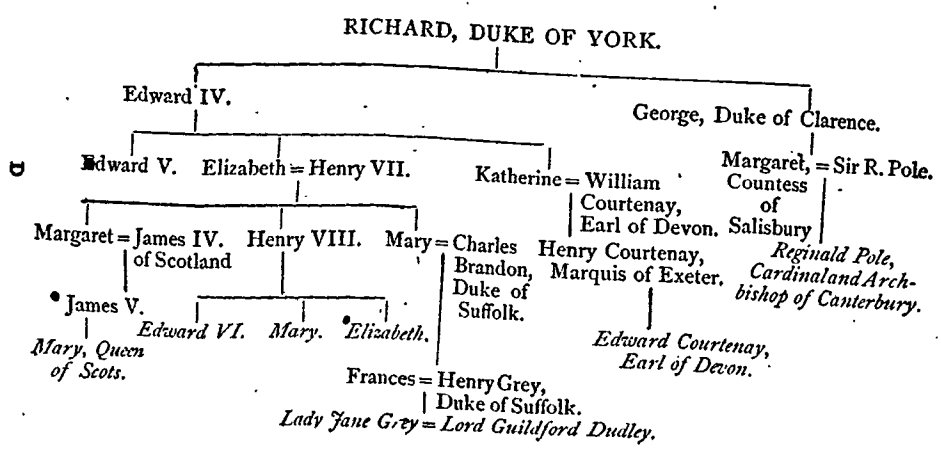
Still the very mention of this marriage offended the English national feeling, and created deep discontent.

Wyatt's rebellion.

Some English nobles put themselves at the head of risings in different counties, in favour of the Princess Elizabeth and Courtenay, who were to be proclaimed king and queen. But the conspirators did not lay their plans wisely. In Devonshire and Cornwall Sir Peter Carew discovered himself too soon, and was obliged to flee to France. At Coventry, the Earl of

* See Genealogical table opposite.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE ILLUSTRATING MARY'S REIGN.


RICHARD, DUKE OF YORK.
Edward IV.
George, Duke of Clarence.
Edward V.
Elizabeth = Henry VII.
Katherine = William Courtenay, Earl of Devon.
Margaret, Countess of Salisbury = Sir R. Pole.
Margaret = James IV. of Scotland
Henry VIII.
Mary = Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.
Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter.
Reginald Pole, Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterbury.
James V.
Edward VI.
Mary.
Elizabeth.
Mary, Queen of Scots.
Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon.
Frances = Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk.
Lady Jane Grey = Lord Guildford Dudley.

Suffolk, Lady Jane Grey's father, was equally unsuccessful, and was made prisoner at Coventry. In Kent only, under Sir Thomas Wyatt, was the rebellion formidable; but there it threatened to be dangerous to the queen. Wyatt, at the head of 15,000 men, advanced against London. The queen had no troops to meet him, and the citizens were wavering in their opinions. In this emergency Mary displayed her courage. She determined to throw herself upon the loyalty of her people, and ordering the lord mayor to summon a meeting of the citizens, she entered the Guildhall and herself addressed them. Mary was not prepossessing in appearance; but at such a moment the black piercing eyes that gleamed from her sallow face, and the deep man's voice that jarred upon the ear in ordinary talk, lent greater dignity to her look and speech. Marriage, she said, was not so dear to her that for it she would sacrifice her people's good; unless her marriage were approved by Parliament, she would never marry. 'Wherefore stand fast against these rebels, your enemies and mine. Fear them not, for I assure you I fear them nothing at all.'

Next morning 20,000 men had enrolled themselves to guard the city. As Wyatt advanced, his army fell off from him. He forced his way into London, but found that no one rose to welcome him. He tried to retire, but was taken prisoner (Feb. 7, 1554).

After the failure of this rebellion the queen's advisers determined to strengthen her position still more by removing out of the way all who hereafter might raise claims against her. Lady Jane Grey and her husband were beheaded. Elizabeth and Courtenay were imprisoned, and attempts were made to implicate them in Wyatt's rising. The Emperor urged the necessity of putting Elizabeth to death; but Gardiner felt that the queen was not strong enough to proceed to such a measure. The people had supported Mary both against

Northumberland and Wyatt, not because she was popular, but because she was their lawful queen. Elizabeth claimed their support for a similar reason, because she was the lawful heir to the throne. To lay hands upon her would destroy Mary's own position, and make her marriage with Philip hated amongst all. For the present Elizabeth must be spared.

This unsuccessful rising against Mary's marriage made all who were well disposed towards the queen give their consent at once to a measure about which they had been previously doubtful. Parliament gave its approval, and Philip landed in England in July 1554. Philip himself had been brought up entirely in Spain, and had imbibed the pride and haughtiness of the Castilian nobles. He was cold and reserved in manner, stiff and formal in speech. He was not of robust frame, and so had no pleasure in out-door sports or feats of arms. When he left Spain and joined his father in the Netherlands, Charles V. saw with distress that his son did not succeed in pleasing any of the peoples with whom he had to do. The Italians murmured at his want of vivacity; the Flemish despised him for his coldness and want of affability; to the Germans he was entirely hateful in every way. It was in vain that Charles V. had done his utmost to secure to Philip the ultimate succession to the Empire. Ferdinand of Austria, Charles V.'s brother, refused to waive his son's claims, and the German princes would not give up their right of election. Charles V. was disappointed in his hope of bequeathing all his dominions to his son.

Mary marries Philip.

But Charles V. had appreciated his son's faults of manner, and Philip was straitly charged to spare no pains in conciliating the English. Charles V. had already resigned to him Naples and Sicily, that he might not come to England as a poor

Philip in England.

landless prince. He came, too, well supplied with Spanish gold, which was largely distributed amongst the most influential members of Parliament, and had great weight in bringing about the reconciliation of England with the Pope. So anxious was Philip to be conciliatory that he begged his attendants, immediately on landing, to conform to English customs, and set them an example by drinking a tankard of English ale.

Re-establishment of the Papal supremacy.

The chief anxiety of Mary and her husband was to bring back England into union with Catholic Christendom, under the headship of the Pope. It was a difficult matter, and had been felt by the Emperor to be so. He had urged great caution and moderation, and had checked Mary's impetuosity. He had detained Pole, the papal legate, in Flanders, and would not allow him to proceed till he had obtained from the Pope full powers to allow the secularised Church property to remain in the hands of its present holders. Charles V. knew well that the English had always borne very grudgingly the claims of the papal supremacy. To get them to admit it again, when once it had been thrown off, would be a very hard task. But to get them to admit it, and to require of the nobles at the same time to resign the Church lands, of which they had obtained possession during the late changes, would be entirely impossible. On the other hand, it was hard for the Pope to forgive rebellion against him, and leave the rebels in possession of all the booty they had gained: it was a bad example to the other European churches. Under the Emperor's influence, however, Pope Julius III. who was an easy, good-natured man, with no very high views of his office, gave Pole permission to waive the question of the restoration of the abbey lands.

When this point had been gained, matters were easier. The royal influence was used to the utmost to procure

the election of trusty members of parliament, and the temper of the new House of Commons was first tried by a bill to reverse the attainder of Cardinal Pole. This was at once passed, and Pole returned to England, at first only as an English nobleman. But he was so well received by the people that he soon ventured to appear with all the pomp of papal legate. This too caused no disturbance, and when he reached London he was received with most marked honours by the queen and her husband. Parliament at once passed a resolution in favour of reunion with the Roman Church. On St. Andrew's day (November 30), 1554, Pole gave his solemn absolution to the nation. The queen and Philip, with all the members of both Houses of Parliament, knelt humbly before him as he freed them from the penalties of schism and 'restored them to the communion of Holy Church.' The papal supremacy was at once restored, and all acts of parliament which had been passed against it were repealed. At the same time the clergy formally resigned their claims to the Church lands which had been seized, and an act of parliament established the titles of their existing possessors. The nobles and great landholders must have been glad enough at this papal restoration. It certainly benefited them, as it confirmed their claims to the new lands they had got. Both of the two religious parties were equally pledged not to disturb them in their possessions.

Cardinal Pole returns.

The Catholic reaction had now firmly set in, and was in the full tide of popular favour. We have to see how, in the next four years, it was entirely discredited; how it failed to win popular sympathy; how it was associated with persecutions, with national distress and disaster, and left behind it a deep-seated hatred of popery which sent England forward on a new career as the chief Protestant nation of Europe.

First of all, the victorious Catholics entered upon a career of persecution, which awoke deep disgust in the mind of the people. The old laws against the Lollards were revived by Parliament, and the chief men amongst the Reformers were put in prison. Their condemnation and execution soon followed, and men were burnt at the stake in different parts of England, to produce a wide-spread feeling of fear. Hooper, Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer, who had been bishops, were all burnt. Archbishop Cranmer had been induced to recant, to save his life; but his recantation was of no avail, and was only meant to add to his humiliation. At the last, however, his courage came back to him, and he died nobly, lamenting his cowardice, and declaring the depth of his real convictions. Everywhere the people looked upon these executions with horror and disgust; while the resolute behaviour of the martyrs won general sympathy. It is true that in other countries religious persecution claimed many more victims than in England. But in England the victims were chosen deliberately from the most important people. The persecution was not founded on popular fanaticism or wide-spread religious bigotry, but was conducted and approved of by the government alone. It was connected also in the minds of the people with Spanish interference and with foreign aggression. In no other country did persecution make so deep an impression on the mind of the people, and the impression is recorded in the title of 'Bloody' which has been attached to the unhappy queen in whose name these horrors were done.

Religious persecution.

But if the people saw that a recognition of the Pope meant persecution at which they shuddered, the nobles and gentry soon found also that it might affect them in their most tender point, their pockets. The papal claims over the confis-

Confiscated Church lands.

cated Church lands had been given up, but the new Pope, Paul IV. (1555), was not at once disposed to agree to the promise made by his predecessor. The queen's conscience was hurt by the possession of Church lands, and she determined to give back to the Church all the ecclesiastical property in the hands of the Crown. She busied herself also with the restoration of monasteries. The owners of Church lands looked upon this with great distrust; they began to feel that if the old religion really made head in England, they would not long be able to hold their lands as they had done.

This munificence of Mary towards the Church of course diminished the royal revenues. The debts which had come down from Henry VIII., and had been increased under Edward VI., went on growing. The coinage had been debased in value, and was not restored; foreign trade consequently languished. The government was so busily engaged in burning heretics that the national defences were neglected. The ships were not kept in repair, and the fortifications were allowed to fall into ruins. The English coasts were ravaged by exiles, especially from Cornwall, who had fled after Wyatt's failure, and now under French protection, infested the Channel as pirates. Everyone saw that the government of the Catholic revival was not likely to restore national prosperity.

Mary's home government.

When in addition to all these causes of discontent was added an estrangement between Mary and the Pope, by which the English saw the Pope take the side of their enemies, we cannot wonder that Mary saw all her hopes fade away, and that her reign ended in national humiliation and disasters, which began to make the name of the papacy hateful to the majority of Englishmen. For the causes of this we must go back to consider the plans of Charles V., and see how they had been prospering.

CHAPTER IV.

FRANCE, SPAIN, AND THE PAPACY.—1555-1558.

IN the year 1555, when the Diet of Augsburg confirmed the religious settlement in Germany, Charles V. again found, as he had done before, that the policy of the Pope was guided by other motives than a desire for the spread of Catholicism. Pope Paul IV., Giovanni Piero Caraffa, was a Neapolitan by birth. He was of the age of eighty, and his mind was filled with the old Italian patriotism of his youthful days, when Italy had not yet fallen under foreign rule. He hated the Spaniards, and was determined to spare no pains in driving them out of Naples. He accordingly hastened to make an alliance with the French king for this purpose.

Opposition to Charles V. in Italy.

Charles V., though not old in years, being only fifty-six, felt himself worn out in health and vigour, and shrunk from the prospect of another long war. He determined therefore to resign his power to his son Philip, and spend his remaining years in solitude. Charles had long ago formed this determination. His reign of thirty-six years had been one of ceaseless activity. He had never remained more than a few months in any one place, but had hastened, as need required, from one part of his vast dominions to another. To him, as to his son Philip, power brought laborious duties which must be conscientiously fulfilled. Wishing to spend the last years of his life in quiet, and thinking that he had done all he could do, and that the time was favourable for his successor, Charles resigned, in 1556, the Netherlands,

Abdication of Charles V.

Spain, and his possessions in Italy, to his son Philip. He then retired to the monastery of Yuste in Estremadura, where he had prepared a house suitable to his needs. There he lived till the end of 1558, engaged alternately in politics and devotion, eagerly watching the course of events in Europe, and helping Philip by his counsels.

War soon broke out in Italy. The Pope quarrelled with the Spaniards, and called the French to his assistance, but both in Italy and in France the cause of Philip prevailed. England was induced to join in the war against France, and the Earl of Pembroke led 10,000 men to join Philip's army in the Netherlands. On August 10, 1557, the French were defeated decisively in an attempt to relieve the important town of St. Quentin. The French army in Italy was hastily recalled, and the Pope, finding himself left to the mercy of Philip's viceroy in Naples, the celebrated Duke of Alva, was compelled to make peace. He received, however, the most favourable terms. The conqueror Alva knelt with the deepest reverence before the enemy he had overcome. It was impossible for the Spaniards to be long at enmity with the Pope.

Successes of Philip II. 1557.

This war between Spain and the Pope had, however, important influence on England. If the Pope hated Philip, it was natural that some part of his hatred should fall on Philip's wife. Partly to annoy Mary, Paul IV. urged the restoration of the Church lands in England, and revoked the legatine powers of Cardinal Pole. Pole had succeeded Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury, and to him as much as to any man was the papal restoration in England due. But Paul IV. had always been opposed to Pole, for Pole, when at Rome, had sympathised with many of the Protestant doctrines, particularly with that of 'justification by faith only.' Pole was now dealt with as a suspected heretic,

Pope Paul IV. and England.

and a Franciscan friar of no reputation, the queen's confessor, was made papal legate in his stead. Mary saw that an attempt to recognise such a man as legate in England would be very disastrous. With something of her father's spirit, she threatened the old penalties of præmunire to anyone who should introduce the Bull into England. The Pope pressed the matter no farther, but Mary and Pole felt sadly the position in which they were placed. They were thwarted by the very power which it was the one object of their lives to serve, and they knew that the sight of this house divided against itself was destroying the confidence of the English people.

But Mary's government soon received a severe shock. The French were anxious to strike some blow which might compensate for their defeat at St. Quentin, and the decayed defences and scanty garrison of Calais invited their attack. In the winter of 1557-8 Calais was surprised, and the last possession of the English in France was lost. The loss was not in itself important, but the disgrace was deeply felt; for the English claims to France were dear to every Englishman, and war with France on their account had always been popular. Now the last remnant of England's conquests was lost, and with it much of England's past glory had fallen away. The loss of Calais was felt equally by the queen and the people.

Loss of Calais.

From every side disappointment and disaster closed over the last years of Mary's reign. Philip, to whom she was devotedly attached, had willingly left England to administer his wide dominions. Mary's hopes of an heir, who should maintain the Spanish line on the English throne, had been disappointed. By the death of Gardiner she had been deprived of her most faithful minister. Pole, who had so long directed her ecclesiastical policy, had fallen into disgrace with the Pope. Abroad

Mary's failure and death.

she met with disaster, and at home she was greeted with the murmurs and unconcealed discontent of her people. Mary's reign ended most sadly. Weighed down by disease which made her old before her time, she saw that all her plans had failed. She could not believe that plans to restore the religion in which she had such fervent faith could possibly fail to meet with the Divine favour. If they seemed to fail it was only because they were carried out half-heartedly. Catholicism must be more firmly established, and the Protestant heresy must be rooted out. So Mary urged religious persecution with greater zeal, and Pole, who was a humane man by nature, and always opposed extreme measures, was roused to persecution as a means of proving his orthodoxy. So it was that the persecutions of Mary's later years excited deeper popular disgust. They were urged on with greater zeal by the queen, just as the mass of the people had felt their first enthusiasm, which alone could make trials and executions tolerable to their consciences, grow cooler by further experience. Mary felt that she was hated by the people whose best interests she firmly believed she was labouring to further. Anonymous letters were thrown before her, and were even hidden in her books of devotion. She died on November 17, 1558, and Pole died within a few hours of his mistress. Both felt in their last hours that their work was likely to fall to the ground with them.

Upon Mary's death Elizabeth came to the throne without any opposition. The Catholic party could not unite to exclude her, for it was weakened by the war between France and Spain. It was impossible for Philip to rejoice at the accession of Anne Boleyn's daughter to the English throne, but still less could he endure the other possible heir, Mary of Scotland; for she was married to the Dauphin of France, and so her accession would throw England into

Accession of Elizabeth.

opposition to Spain. Moreover, Elizabeth's religious views were still a matter of conjecture; she had not expressed herself very strongly on either side, but, like the great mass of the people, had conformed to the established religion under Edward VI. and Mary equally. Her inclinations were towards Protestantism, but she was not fond of extremes. Philip still hoped that she might be won over to his side. He offered her his hand in marriage, and Elizabeth did not at once refuse, as she wished to feel her way at first, and avoid difficulties as much as possible.

Dangers of Elizabeth's position.

The condition of England was indeed very perilous. The treasury was empty, the revenue was anticipated, and there was a large debt. Trade was languishing, the coinage was debased, and the Channel was swarming with pirates. The country was divided by religious struggles, and was engaged in a disastrous war with France, into which it had been plunged in the interest of Spain. Added to this, Elizabeth's legitimacy was doubted, and there was a pretender to the throne. It was clearly necessary to act at first with the greatest prudence and caution.

As regards religion Elizabeth was not anxious to declare herself too soon. On the one hand she attended the mass service to please the Catholics; on the other hand she forbad the elevation of the host to please the Protestants. But this impartial conduct was soon made impossible by the conduct of the Pope. Paul IV. grew no milder as he grew older, and had fallen still more under French influence. When Elizabeth's ambassador announced to him her accession, he answered that 'Elizabeth, being illegitimate, could not ascend the throne without his consent; it was impertinent on her part to do so. Let her, in the first place, submit her claims to his decision.'

Elizabeth had now no doubt about her line of action. She could not hope to strengthen herself against France and Scotland by an alliance with Spain. For Philip could not have married her without a dispensation from the Pope, and she was the daughter of a marriage which the papacy could never forgive. To attempt to marry Philip would be to surrender her claim to the English throne into the hands of the Pope. She therefore rejected Philip's offer of marriage, and was consequently compelled to agree to peace with France at the price of leaving Calais in their hands. Philip II. was desirous of peace with France, for his treasury was empty, and it was hopeless for him to try and crush France entirely. Elizabeth, on her side, was afraid that Spain would make a separate peace, and leave her to carry on war with France single-handed. The peace of Câteau Cambresis, concluded on April 12, 1559, left France in possession of Calais, as well as of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Philip was content to secure the Alps as the boundary of his Italian possessions, by establishing once more the independence of Savoy and Piedmont under their duke.

Her attitude towards France and Spain.

After this peace Elizabeth's hands were free. She was determined henceforth to act independently in political matters, to take her own line of action and maintain it, to trust to her people, and to support her own measures by identifying them with her people's interests. It was in this that the significance of Elizabeth's reign lay. She was obliged by the isolation in which she found herself to throw herself entirely upon her people. Under her, therefore, England became again united, and took up once more a leading position among the nations of Europe.

CHAPTER V.

RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT IN ENGLAND.

THE first result of Elizabeth's experience of the papal plans was to force her to fall back upon the Protestant party in England. This party was becoming stronger day by day, owing to the return of many who had been driven into exile by the persecutions of Mary's reign. These men had mostly taken refuge in Frankfort or Geneva, and had there imbibed the opinions of Calvin. They came back deeply imbued with Calvin's system, and by their energy gained great influence over the people. Elizabeth, and her chief adviser Cecil, were both of them reformers in the sense that they saw much that needed alteration in the old state of things; but Elizabeth could never bring herself to accept the revolutionary ideas of Calvin. She had more sympathy with her father's plan of maintaining the old Church system, but without any connexion with Rome. She was also a great reader of the writings of the early fathers of the Church, and her plan was to free the English Church from the beliefs and practices which had sprung up in it through its relations to Rome, without altering the Catholic foundation on which it rested.

Elizabeth's religious position.

In this plan, also, she had to proceed cautiously, for it was not a plan which could command popular enthusiasm. It would not conciliate the Catholic party, and would not please the followers of Calvin. It could only be established by careful management and prudence. Concessions must be made to both the extreme parties if the plan was to succeed. It was in this way that the religious

settlement under Elizabeth gave its peculiar character to the Church of England.

Elizabeth began at once to take a middle course between the Protestants and Catholics. She proclaimed that the old Services were to be continued till Parliament met, and meanwhile spared no efforts to secure the election of a subservient House of Commons. A commission of divines was appointed to revise the Prayer Book of Edward VI., so that no time should be lost in submitting to Parliament a scheme for the settlement of the religious difficulty.

Re-establishment of Protestantism.

The Parliament, which met in 1559, re-established the royal supremacy over the Church, and enacted that an oath of recognition of the queen as supreme governor of her kingdom, in all causes spiritual as well as civil, should be imposed on all clergy and magistrates. The revised Prayer Book, which had been modified to suit the more moderate of those who adhered to the old state of things, was accepted by Parliament, and its use was enforced by the Act of Uniformity.

These changes were violently opposed by the bishops, who counted on Elizabeth's weakness, and on the discontent of the extreme reformers. They were ordered to conduct a public disputation with some divines appointed by the queen. On refusing to continue the dispute and comply with the conditions prescribed to them, the chief amongst them were committed to the Tower. Soon after, they were deprived of their sees, and successors were appointed of more Protestant opinions. Matthew Parker, who had been Anne Boleyn's chaplain, was made Archbishop of Canterbury. He was a man of moderate opinions, who held the same views as the queen on religious matters. He was strongly opposed to Calvinism, and held to Scripture, and the customs of the primitive Church. He

Opposition of the bishops.

was a man of great learning, and of strong common sense. The son of a tradesman in Norwich, he was a fair representative of the opinions and feelings of the middle classes. Archbishop Parker's moderation, caution, and good sense did much towards preserving the balance of parties, and establishing the English Church upon the broad basis of concession which so strongly marks it.

Thus the Reformation was again established in England, and commissioners were sent through the country to inquire into its ecclesiastical condition, to administer the oath of supremacy, and see that the new laws were carried out. Very few of the clergy, besides the deposed bishops, refused to take the oath. The changes were, on the whole, popular and met with little opposition.

Meanwhile, a change had taken place in the papacy. On the death of Paul IV., Cardinal d' Medici became Pope, as Pius IV. He was of a gentle and conciliatory nature, and his chief ambition was to see the schism brought to an end. He sent at once a nuncio to the queen, offering to approve of the Book of Common Prayer and of the administration of the Communion in both kinds, provided only the Church of England would again submit to the papal supremacy. But his offer came too late. It is impossible to say what would have been the result if this offer had been made by Paul IV.; but the queen's choice had now been made, and she had determined to side with the Protestants and separate herself from the alliance with Spain. The papal nuncio was not allowed to enter England.

Elizabeth's ecclesiastical system.

Thus the queen had taken up her position. She wished to retain as much as possible of the old traditional system of religion; but she would have none of the abuses that had resulted from papal supremacy and papal interference. She liked

the old ceremonies, and was opposed to all the innovations of the Continental reformers. The system which she sanctioned was properly designed to include the more moderate of the two religious parties; but those who would not accept it were to be compelled to obedience. The queen exercised a jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters, and at first appointed commissioners to see that the law was properly carried out. These commissioners grew into a permanent body, the Court of High Commission, for the trial of ecclesiastical cases, and the court thus instituted grew in later reigns into an instrument of serious oppression. At present, however, Protestants and Catholics alike had to obey. The Church of England became a national church. But it may be doubted whether the religious settlement under Elizabeth would have been so permanent, had not the events which followed connected it strongly with national feeling. Opposition to the papacy was shown to be a necessary safeguard of the national independence. The stirring events of Elizabeth's reign bound her people together, and demanded that they should offer a united front to their foes. The murmurs of the extreme Protestants were almost drowned in the general awakening of the national enthusiasm, and religious discord among the reformed did not assume any serious form until the more peaceful reign of her successor, when the reformed religion had become endeared to the sentiments and prejudices of the majority of Englishmen.

At first, however, Elizabeth's position was very dangerous. At home were numbers of discontented, both Catholics and Protestants. Abroad, the claims of Mary of Scotland to the English throne were warmly supported by France; and Philip of Spain, alarmed at Elizabeth's conduct in the matter of religion, seemed disposed to sink his enmity with France,

Her difficulties.

and make common cause against her. Had France, Spain, and Scotland really united against England, Elizabeth's throne could not have stood. But religious difficulties, which had not hitherto given these countries any serious trouble, began to arise, and Elizabeth knew how to use the opportunities thus offered her. Her policy was not noble nor magnanimous; but with an impoverished kingdom, a ruined navy, a feeble army, and an insecure position, noble policy was impossible. The queen was not free to follow her own inclinations even in the matter of her marriage. Parliament besought her to marry so as to settle the question of the succession to the throne. But it was hard for her to marry either a Catholic or a Protestant, without either putting herself at a disadvantage to Mary of Scotland, or sacrificing the strength of her political position. On the other hand, if she did not marry, Mary was looked upon as her successor. The Archduke Charles of Austria, the Earl of Arran, and Eric, king of Sweden, were proposed to her as husbands; but she preferred Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Her reason kept her inclinations in check, and prevented her from making so unpopular a marriage. While she wavered, she used her other suitors as means for raising expectations among the politicians of Europe.

Similarly, in other matters, she was content to raise hopes and balance parties against one another. She strove to give the least possible and receive the largest possible return. She made promises take the place of actions. We have to trace her tortuous course through her intricate relations with Scotland, France, and Spain, and see how she managed to steer herself and England clear of the dangers which threatened them.

BOOK II.

REFORMATION IN FRANCE & SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

THE REFORMATION MOVEMENT IN FRANCE AND SCOTLAND, 1540-60.

THE Reformation movement, and the difficulties which it raised in the politics of every kingdom, gave rise to complications in France and Scotland of which Elizabeth took advantage to secure her own position. So long as a religious war did not break out in England itself, Elizabeth could use the difficulties of neighbouring States for her own purposes. So long as England remained united enough to make foreign interference difficult, Elizabeth could balance parties, and help insurgents in the kingdoms of her opponents.

In France the conflict of religious opinions threatened to become serious, much more serious than it had been in Germany. Luther's Reformation was conservative in principle. He wished to alter as little as possible of the belief and practice of the old Church. While aiming at the removal of abuses, he was anxious to preserve the old framework. But in France the Reformers were not so much engaged in removing the abuses of the old state of things as in endeavouring to discover for themselves a new system of

Reformation in France.

life, by which each man might realise more entirely his own relationship to God. Hence the German Reformers did not awake such fierce opposition as did the Protestants in France. In Germany the Reformation only demanded a few modifications of the existing political system; in France it called for an entire change of national life. The principles on which French Protestantism was founded had far deeper root in the mind and character of the individual than had the teaching of Luther and Melanchthon. But here, as in all other things, the deeper principles had to meet with the more bitter antagonism.

Protestantism in France had made considerable progress under Francis I., as the king himself, and his sister Margaret, queen of Navarre, were both in favour of some reforms. But when Francis I. failed in his political undertakings against Charles V., the intolerant spirit of his people was too strong for him to resist. The theologians of the College of Sorbonne, in the University of Paris, declared themselves violently for the old Church, and the popular opinion of the capital was on their side. Francis I., though allied with the Protestant princes of Germany, and urks abroad, was driven to persecute at home. Under Henry II. persecution was still more vigorously carried on, and the Protestant teachers were obliged to flee from France. Some of the chief of them took refuge at Geneva, a city in the dominions of the Duke of Savoy, among a French-speaking people.

Fra: is I.

Geneva was in a state of political confusion. Its municipality claimed the right to regulate its internal affairs; but its bishop wished to assert his power over it, and the Duke of Savoy also desired to bring it into subjection. The citizens were opposed to the duke and bishop, and the ideas of the

Reformation in Geneva.

Reformers gave them a ground on which to rest their opposition. Protestantism first came to Geneva through the German-speaking towns of the Swiss confederates, where Luther's opinions had largely spread. But the French refugees were more in accordance with the spirit of the people, and Geneva became the centre of French Protestantism. Jean Chauvin, better known as John Calvin, a native of Picardy, acquired a great influence over the affairs of the city. Once he was driven away by his enemies, but in 1541 he returned, and from that time Geneva was the centre of his teaching. Calvinism aimed at completely establishing the connexion of man with God by means of its doctrine of predestination, according to which the Church consisted solely of those who had been from the beginning predestined to salvation. Starting from this conception, Calvin organised the most rigorous church discipline, and enforced it by means of the government of the city. The greatest moral strictness was exacted, and Geneva, entirely under Calvin's influence, became a model for all Protestant States.

Calvinism in France.

The example of Geneva naturally told most powerfully upon France. The Protestants increased in numbers in spite of the persecutions, and the wretched condition of the government under Henry II. gave them still greater weight. The king abandoned everything to his favourites, who urged on the persecution as a means of gaining money for themselves. Ecclesiastical offices were given away as rewards for services done to the king, and men who had been pliant courtiers one day were seen officiating as bishops on the next. In this state of things morality was entirely on the side of the Protestants. They grew in numbers, so that in 1558 they were reckoned at 400,000, and each congregation organised itself on the principles which Calvin had laid down at Geneva.

Henry II. was alarmed at this spread of Protestantism, and a desire to have his hands more free to attack it is said to have been one of the reasons which made him ready to conclude the peace of Câteau Cambresis with Philip II. (April 2, 1559). He published severer edicts against Protestantism, and was suspected of a plan to help the Duke of Savoy to conquer Geneva, when he was accidentally killed at a tournament (July 26, 1559), and a change came over the government of France.

Death of Henry II.

Francis II., who succeeded his father, was a boy of the age of sixteen, who, at the very beginning of his reign, gave up all his power to the bitterest enemy of the Protestants, Charles Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine. He was one of the six sons of Claude, Duke of Guise, who had been one of the bravest generals of Francis I.* These six sons were to play a most important part in French history. All of them were full of vigour and energy, all of them were staunch, we may say fanatical, Catholics, and lost no opportunity of carrying out their convictions. Francis Duke of Guise, the elder brother of the cardinal, had already made himself a name in France by the capture of Calais. James V. of Scotland had married the cardinal's sister, and Mary of Scotland was his niece. It was through her marriage to Francis II. that the Cardinal of Lorraine had gained his great influence with the king. He was, moreover, justly popular with the people,—a man of commanding presence, great affability, ready eloquence, unblemished moral character, unwearied zeal in discharging the duties of his archbishopric, and a high reputation for sanctity. Now that he had power in his hands, he set three main objects before himself,—

Power of the Guises.

* See genealogical table, p. 162.

the suppression of Protestantism, hostility to England, and the establishment of the power of his own family.

Thus it was by the Cardinal's advice that Francis II. and Mary assumed at once the title and arms of England. Mary's claims were to be asserted against Elizabeth; Protestantism was to be crushed in England as well as in France, and the influence of the Guises was to be supreme in both countries. Hostility to England.

Elizabeth knew that Philip would lend no help to carry out such plans as these; but the Pope was likely to combine in their favour all staunch Catholics who were ready to move at the papal command. It was through Scotland that the blow against England would first be struck. Elizabeth's plan was to avoid it by helping the discontented in France and Scotland alike, so as to employ the cardinal's energies at home.

We have seen the condition of France. Scotland was equally inflammable on the question of religion, while the power of the crown was much less than in France. The Scottish nobles were at the head of powerful clans, and the continual border warfare with England had kept alive their military spirit. The king, on the other hand, had but small revenues, and no army at his command. Hence, to obtain greater power, the Crown had allied itself with the Church, and had been willing to enrich the clergy as a means of diminishing the importance of the nobles. The Scottish Church was wealthy and corrupt, and when Henry VIII. of England endeavoured to prevail on James V. of Scotland to join with him in his reforming plans, the Scottish clergy in alarm bought off the king's compliance, and stirred him up to the war with England which cost him his life (1542). But the suppression of the monasteries and confiscation of church property in England had wrought a great impression in Scotland, and the clergy felt them- State of Scotland.

selves insecure. Persecution awoke the most bitter passions, and the burning of George Wishart, one of the most popular of the reforming preachers, brought a terrible punishment on the persecutor. Cardinal Beaton, the primate, was murdered in the castle of St. Andrews (1546), and for fourteen months the castle was held against the regent. The policy, however of England towards Scotland, and the disastrous battle of Pinkie (1547), compelled the Scots to look to France for help, and so strengthened the Catholic party. French troops were brought in greater numbers to Scotland, and in 1554 the queen-mother, Mary of Lorraine, sister of the Cardinal of Lorraine, was made regent.

The French in Scotland.

The Scots, however, were soon impatient of French influence over them, and disliked the foreigners whom the regent put in power. They felt that though it might be useful for them to play off the French against the English so as to secure their independence, still if they were to be dependent on one or the other, the English were more nearly related to them than the French. On one side was an alliance with France and Catholicism; on the other side an alliance with England and Protestantism.

Here, as in Geneva, national feeling united with religious conviction, and Protestantism became the symbol of antagonism to the French dominion. In 1557 a powerful political party was formed of those who were in favour of ecclesiastical reform. It was a party which came together with different objects. Some were in favour of Protestant doctrines; some hoped for a share of church lands; some wished to raise a party against French influence. But all combined to sign a bond, in accordance with an old Scottish practice, pledging themselves to work together for a common purpose. This bond is known as the First Covenant, and those who signed it agreed to demand that

the English Book of Common Prayer be used in the churches, and that Protestant preaching be allowed.

For a while nothing definite was done; but in 1558 the burning of an old preacher, Walter Mill, at St. Andrews, aroused the Lords of the Congregation, as the signers of the Covenant now called themselves. They presented their demands to the regent, and some time was spent in useless discussion. But the hands of the Reformers were strengthened by Elizabeth's accession in England, and on May 2, 1559, the leading spirit of the Scottish Reformation, John Knox, returned to Scotland.

Religious struggles in Scotland.

Knox had been born near Haddington in the year 1505. He had had a good education, and had taken up Protestantism with the fire and fervour of a severe and stern nature. He was one of those who held the castle of St. Andrews after the murder of Cardinal Beaton, and on its capture had been sent as a prisoner to serve in the French galleys. After nineteen months of suffering, which only intensified the depth and narrowness of his convictions, he succeeded in escaping. For a while he lived in England, under Edward VI., but fled before Mary's persecution, first to Frankfort, and afterwards to Geneva, where he published a fierce attack upon Mary, called the 'Monstrous Regiment of Women.' There he joined Calvin, and learned from him the principles which he afterwards laboured to enforce. It was Knox's influence which turned the Scottish Reformation from following in the steps of the English movement, and impressed upon it the more rigid and severe form which had been thought out by Calvin. Knox came back to Scotland profoundly convinced of the truth of his own convictions, and determined to carry them out at any hazard. He was keen, shrewd, and clear-sighted, a man not likely to put himself or his opinions at the mercy of political contingencies, but determined to use politics

John Knox.

for his own purposes. Those who joined him to gain their own ends found that he was more than their match. Utterly fearless, never giving way for an instant, not to be deterred by threats or won over by fair promises, he went upon his own course. He was convinced that to put down popery was his highest duty, and no feelings of sympathy for others, no restraints of decorum, no compassion for human weakness, was allowed to stand in his way. Hard, cold, and austere, yet with a grim humour and a rare power of clear and ready eloquence, he was the terror of those in power and the constant favourite of the people.

Knox's influence was soon felt in the course of affairs. In May 1559 the regent, stirred to action by the Cardinal of Lorraine, summoned the reformed clergy to Stirling. They came, but surrounded by so many followers, that the regent was afraid, and promised that if they would disperse she would proceed no further. They agreed; but scarcely were they gone before Mary caused the preachers to be tried and condemned in their absence. Knox's anger broke out in a fierce sermon against idolatry, preached at Perth. The people of the town rose and destroyed the images in the churches, and tore down all architectural ornaments which contained sculpture. The example of Perth was followed elsewhere, and the churches of Scotland were soon robbed of their old beauty. From this time we must date the decay of the fine ecclesiastical buildings of Scotland, whose ruins still bear witness to their former splendour. They were not of course destroyed at once; but they were stripped bare and left to moulder unheeded. The stern spirit of the Scottish Reformation would not consent to offer the new simple worship, of which men's consciences approved, in the old buildings which had been profaned by idolatrous rites.

Opposition to the regent.

The Lords of the Congregation were now in open

rebellion against the regent, and war was on the point of breaking out. It was, however, averted for a time by the mediation of a few moderate men, amongst whom was Lord James Stewart, an illegitimate son of the late king, known in later history as the Earl of Murray. Both parties agreed to lay down their arms, and submit their disputes to a meeting of the Estates of the Realm, while the regent promised not to molest the people of Perth, or garrison the town with French soldiers. She kept the letter only of her promise; for she hired native troops with French money, and proceeded to punish the people of Perth. This perfidy gave strength to the Congregation. They again took up arms, seized Edinburgh, summoned a parliament, and deposed the regent (October 1559).

This was a bold step; but without help from England it could not be maintained. As the regent was strong in French troops, the Congregation must ally with England. Elizabeth wished to help them; but her course was by no means clear. To ally with rebels fighting against their lawful sovereign was a bad example for one in Elizabeth's position to set. She herself had many enemies abroad who were willing enough to interfere in the affairs of England, and many of her subjects recognised her as queen only by virtue of her legal title, which they would be willing enough to set aside. Elizabeth's ministers were less cautious than herself; but Cecil's political wisdom was never allowed to act till Elizabeth had provided for her own position in case of failure.

Elizabeth and Scotland.

At last, in January 1560, a treaty was made at Berwick between Elizabeth and the Duke of Chatelherault, the second person in the Scottish realm. Elizabeth undertook to aid the Scottish lords in expelling the French, but would only aid them so long as they acknowledged their queen.

And now a strange change had come over Scotland. The Scots were fighting side by side with the English against their old allies the French. Already their religious feelings had overcome their old national animosities; or rather, religion itself had become a powerful element in their national spirit. The war, however, was for awhile indecisive. The French troops held the fortress of Leith, and, though blockaded by an English fleet, still managed to repulse the attacks of their assailants. It was doubtful whether Elizabeth would be prevailed upon to send troops enough to secure success for the Scottish lords.

War against the French.

But meanwhile affairs in France took a direction favourable to the Reformers. The Cardinal of Lorraine had offended the nobles by his exclusion of them from State affairs, and by his endeavours to secure all the power for his kinsmen. France was deeply in debt, and there were many murmurs against the oppressive taxes which were levied solely to further the family interests of the Guises in securing their hold on Scotland. To these grievances was added the disaffection of the Protestants. The combined result of all these causes of discontent was a plan to seize the young king at Amboise, deprive the Guises of their power, and entrust the management of affairs to the next princes of the blood, the Prince of Condé and the King of Navarre. The king, it was urged, was only sixteen, and ought to be delivered from evil counsellors. The plan was badly carried out, and entirely failed. The hastily gathered troops who hurried to Amboise were easily repelled (March, 1560). They were called Huguenots, meaning apparently a crowd hastily gathering. From this time the name passed on to the French Protestants in general.

Conspiracy of Amboise.

But though this attempt failed, it showed the cardi-

nal how great were the dangers he had to face. The French troops were needed at home, and could no longer be spared for Scotland. The withdrawal of the French made peace necessary in Scotland, and by the treaty of Edinburgh (July 1560), it was provided that henceforth no foreigners should be employed in Scotland without the consent of the estates of the realm. Elizabeth's policy was rewarded by a condition that Mary and Francis II. should acknowledge her queen of England, lay aside their own pretensions, and no longer wear the British arms. Before the treaty was signed the queen-regent died (June 20), and with her the power of France and the Guises in Scotland was gone for the present.

French recalled from Scotland.

The Congregation was now triumphant, and the work of Reformation was quickly carried on. A meeting of the Estates approved of the Geneva Confession of Faith, abjured the authority of the Pope, and forbade the administration, or presence at the administration of the mass, on pain of death for the third offence (August 25, 1560).

Scottish Reformation.

Meanwhile the Guises were powerless to prevent this. In France the Huguenots demanded toleration, and their demand had been supported by Admiral Coligny. Cardinal Guise was preparing for more vigorous measures, when his plans were cut short by the death of the young king, at the age of seventeen (December 4, 1560). He was succeeded by his brother, Charles IX., a boy of ten, about whose minority there could be no doubt. The queen-mother, Catherine de' Medici, was recognised as regent, and the princes of the blood were called back again to the council. France was divided by factions, each striving for power. Catherine was a Florentine, who had been ill-treated by her husband and neglected by her son, who hated the

Affairs in France.

Guises, and would shrink from nothing which would help her to get power into her own hands. Now that she had obtained a position in the State it seemed as though she were determined to avenge her former seclusion, and satisfy her pent-up greed for power. Next to her was Antony, king of Navarre, an honest, well-meaning, genial man, who strongly favoured Protestantism. Against both of these were the Guises, with a strong party of zealous Catholics, wishing for an opportunity to carry out their plans.

France was on the eve of the outbreak of a war in which the passions of parties and factions were strangely mingled with religious feelings. England and Scotland had nothing more to fear from that side for some time to come. The plans of the Guises were no longer to be carried on in Scotland and England by armed interference, but by the political craft and cunning of their niece, Mary of Scotland, who had been trained under their influence.

CHAPTER II.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

MARY was left a widow at the age of eighteen; but she had gained a political experience far beyond her years.

Mary in France.

Her French education had almost done away all traces of her Scottish birth. She had received to the full the lessons of graceful refinement for which the French court since the times of Francis I. had become famous, and amongst its beautiful and brilliant ladies she gained a reputation as one of the most beautiful and most accomplished. In religion and politics she was a Catholic, attached to the schemes of her uncles the Guises. In the atmosphere of intrigue in which she had moved,

she had learned the arts of dissimulation. She knew how to throw over her deep-laid plans a veil of charming artlessness. She knew how to use for her own purposes her great natural gifts, and to employ her personal charms as a means of working out her political plans. Never has there been a sovereign whose public and private life have been so entirely mixed together. Political plans seem to have had no attraction for her unless they had a dash of personal feeling and personal adventure. The enjoyments of private life gave her no pleasure unless she were working through them upon unconscious agents towards the furtherance of her great ends.

At first her character was unknown in England, and it was of the greatest importance to Elizabeth to know how far she might look on Mary as a friend. Her ministers in Paris urged upon Mary the signature of the treaty of Edinburgh, acknowledging Elizabeth as queen of England. Mary refused to sign this, and her address in giving excuses for her refusal first convinced Elizabeth of the power of the enemy with whom she had to do. Till the treaty was signed, Elizabeth refused Mary a passage through England on her return to Scotland. Mary showed her bravery by sailing from Calais to Leith, though the Channel was full of English cruisers. She landed safely in Scotland in the middle of August 1561.

Mary comes to Scotland.

The Scots received her with enthusiasm; for their chivalrous feelings were awakened by the sight of their young queen, as she stood before them in her beauty and grace. To Mary, accustomed to the splendid pageantry of the French court, the attempts of the Scots to welcome her seemed rough and rude. She had left behind her all the graces of the French court, and had come amongst a rugged and proud people, to whom subserviency was unknown, and who were heedless of decorum. The

common people thronged about her with easy familiarity as she went to Edinburgh; the nobles were rude and boisterous, and cared little how they showed their respect; the queen had no royal army to meet her, no body-guard nor band of courtiers.

Nothing shows more forcibly the great strength of mind and firmness of resolution which Mary possessed than does the way in which she comprehended her position and resolutely adapted herself to it. Though surrounded with difficulties, a young queen come to govern, without any real power, a people almost strangers to her, alone amongst men with whom she had no sympathies, a Catholic amongst a Protestant people—still she bravely set her face to do the work on which she had determined.

Full of ambition, she had many chances before her. If the Catholics prevailed in France, she might rely on help from that country. If there were any movement of Catholics in England, it must be in her name. If anything were to befall Elizabeth, she was the next heir to the English throne. The future was full of possibilities. Meanwhile she must win the goodwill of the Scots,—perhaps she might even succeed in winning them back to Catholicism; anyhow she must have Scotland at her control as a safe starting-point for her further plans.

Mary's plans.

Elizabeth could not penetrate Mary's designs; she could only suspect them, and Mary's refusal to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh confirmed her in her suspicions. She felt herself checked on every side by Mary, whose position in Scotland was undisputed, whose claims to England were maintained by many, and whose right of succession was admitted by almost all. Elizabeth would most probably have wished for a peaceable alliance with Mary, whose right

Elizabeth's relations to Mary.

to the succession would then have been recognised. But she could not admit the right of succession until the claim to present possession was laid aside. Mary on her part would not give up an existing claim, to gain a doubtful benefit in the future. Meanwhile Elizabeth could neither admit nor reject Mary's right of succession without injuring herself. She could not marry without putting herself at a disadvantage as compared with Mary. If she married a Protestant, the Catholics, being deprived of the hope of a Catholic successor, would be drawn closer to Mary. If she married a Catholic, it would be distasteful to the Protestants, and she would, by such a marriage, sacrifice much of the independence not only of her personal but of her political position. There is no doubt that she wished to marry Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, the younger son of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who had played so great a part in the events of Edward VI.'s reign. But she felt that she could not marry a subject without lowering her position in Europe; it would, in fact, be preferring her own gratification to the nation's good. As she could not marry to her liking, she used her marriage projects as a means for diplomatic shuffling.

So, for a few years, history seems almost to be concerned with the personal contest of these two queens; for they summed up in their own persons the opposite tendencies of the time. They were opposed in eager rivalry, each ready to take advantage of the other's mistakes. Both of them were highly gifted women; both were ambitious and with great plans for the future. Mary was more graceful, more winning, with greater subtlety and quickness. Elizabeth was more imperious, more cautious, with greater foresight and prudence. Both of them were utterly unscrupulous and deceitful, ready to use any instrument in their way, and

Characters of Elizabeth and Mary.

careless of everything but the success of their plans. But their plans had this difference: Elizabeth was identified in her interests with the nation over which she ruled, and though she might at times be capricious, yet in the end her sense of duty towards her people prevailed over her purely personal desires. She lied, and plotted, and quibbled; but it was to gain, at the least possible cost to her people, some object which was for her people's good. Mary, on the other hand, had no sympathy with the Scottish character; her ends were purely selfish, and her plans were simply laid for the increase of her own greatness. Hence it was that she failed. In the crisis of her fortunes her sensual nature was too strong for her political cunning; the desire for gratification at the moment overcame the desire for future success; she lived for herself alone, and sacrificed her future to her present.

Mary's moderation.

At first Mary's government was one of wise moderation, under the guidance of her half-brother, Lord James Stewart, who was created Earl of Murray. The queen succeeded in gaining toleration for her own Catholic worship, and the moderate party gradually increased. One great reason of this was that the new clergy were discontented at not receiving the lands of the old Church. One-third of these lands went to the Crown for the payment of the new clergy; but the other two-thirds were left in the hands of the laymen who had managed during the disturbances to get possession of them.

Mary was not content with mere moderation. When the plans of the Earl of Huntley, who still headed the Catholics in the north of Scotland, were suspected by the government, Mary accompanied the Earl of Murray on an expedition against him (1562). She rode gaily on horseback, and enjoyed to the full the excitement of a

martial undertaking. Huntley was killed; the power of his clan, that of the Gordons, was broken, and Catholicism was driven out of the north. Mary felt that her time was not yet come, and meanwhile she would not risk her future success by maintaining her principles in an untimely way.

The reason for this dissimulation was, no doubt, the unfavourable turn which affairs had taken in France. The Protestants had used the dissensions between the queen-mother and the Guises as a means of bettering their own position. At a meeting of the Estates, held at St. Germain on January 5, 1562, it was agreed that a legal position should be granted to the Protestants; their preaching was allowed within certain limits, and all penalties against them were suspended.

Beginning of the religious wars in France.

But though this might be a politic measure, it awoke most bitter feelings in the minds of the fanatical Catholics, at whose head stood Francis, Duke of Guise. Toleration was impossible when men's passions were so violent. Two hostile bodies could not live peaceably in the same land. The hatred against the Protestants blazed forth in the massacre by Guise's followers of a Huguenot congregation at Vassy, who had assembled under the protection of the recent edict. The massacre was not deliberate, but the angry soldiers rushed upon the defenceless crowd, and Guise approved of the deed (March 1, 1562). When Guise arrived in Paris he was received with enthusiasm by the people of the city. His friends gathered round him, and he was soon more popular than the king himself.

The Catholic feeling was stronger in France than Catherine had supposed. She was a politician, and cared nothing about religion in itself. She had tried moderation, but the Catholic party showed itself stronger and

more zealous. For the present she lent it the king's name.

The object of the Catholic confederates was to revoke gradually the edict of toleration, beginning first with the chief towns. They succeeded in winning over to their side Antony, king of Navarre, by promises of the restoration of his kingdom, which, since 1512, had been in the hands of Spain. But the other head of the Huguenot party, Antony's brother Louis, Prince of Condé, remained true to his principles. Though a man of easy, careless character, whose life was by no means marked by Huguenot severity, he still believed Protestantism in the bottom of his heart. He did not hesitate to accept the challenge offered. Declaring that the queen-mother and the young king were kept in captivity by the Guises, he took up arms for their liberation.

Condé was not strong enough, however, to wage war by himself. He applied to Elizabeth for help, which she cautiously and sparingly gave, after having demanded as a condition the surrender of Havre-de-Grâce into her hands. As before she had defeated the plans of the Guises by an alliance with the rebel nobles of Scotland, so now she would do her utmost to prevent the Guises from helping Mary, by forming an alliance with the rebellious Huguenots of France.

Elizabeth helps the Huguenots.

The war centred in Normandy, and at first was unfavourable to the Huguenots. On December 19, 1562, Condé was defeated and taken prisoner at Dreux, and the Duke of Guise undertook the siege of Orleans, the most important town which the Huguenots held. But fanaticism was not solely on the Catholic side. A young Huguenot, Poltrot de Merey, had convinced himself that he would be doing a deed acceptable to God if he could rid the earth of the persecutor of his brethren. He contrived

to assassinate the Duke of Guise before Orleans, February 24, 1563. Already had the religious war in France awakened feelings of the bitterest kind, and swept away the ordinary principles which regulate the dealings between man and man. The violence and animosity which have always marked French party quarrels found in these religious contests their most awful expression.

Now that Condé was in prison, and Guise was dead, the queen-mother, again came forward to urge moderation. She patched up a reconciliation, and the edict of Amboise (March 19, 1563), gave the Protestants the right to worship in all towns where they worshipped at present, except Paris, which was too bigotedly Catholic to tolerate their presence. A truce was agreed to between the two contending parties, though it clearly could not be of long duration. But at first the national spirit prevailed. Catherine was able to unite both factions for the recovery of Havre, which was easily won back from the English, and Elizabeth was compelled to make peace.

Pacification in France, 1563.

For the next few years, however, the party of the Guises gradually grew stronger in France, owing partly to the spread of the order of the Jesuits, and in part to the influence of Philip II. of Spain, who dreaded the influence of the French Protestants upon the Netherlands. He was urgent that the queen-mother should join with him in taking common measures for the suppression of heresy. Catherine, who dreaded Spanish interference in France, refused to move from her policy of moderation.

In proportion as the Guise influence advanced in France, so did Mary in Scotland begin to act more decidedly. Her marriage was a great means by which the Guises might increase their position in Europe, and many negotiations were entered into on the subject. First, Don Carlos, son of

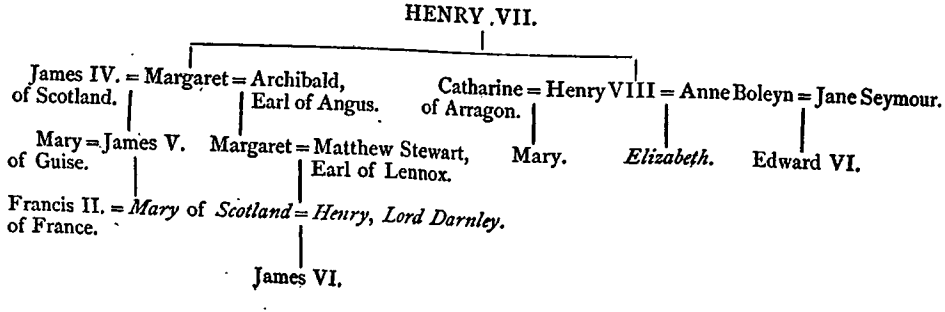
Question of Mary's marriage.

Philip II., was proposed to Mary; but apparently his father was already afraid of the ungovernable temper of the youth, and the match was strongly opposed by Catherine de' Medici who intrigued to prevent it. If Mary had married Don Carlos, the Reformation would have been at once put down in Scotland, which would have again become the quarter from which a Catholic onslaught might be made on England. When this project fell through, Elizabeth urged Mary's marriage with her own favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and offered, if this marriage were contracted, to recognise Mary as her successor in England. But Mary knew that by her marriage with a Protestant and an English subject she would have made herself for ever harmless to Elizabeth, and would have destroyed the political influence of her position.

Mary saw no chance of securing her recognition in England, either by agreement with Elizabeth, or by help from Spain. She must take her own measures, and trust to her own skill. She felt that she had made herself personally popular in Scotland by her winning manners, and she knew that the fanatical intolerance of Knox and his followers had created a Catholic reaction amongst all the more moderate men. Mary thought that she could now afford to show her real colours, and therefore on July 29, 1565, she married her cousin, Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley.

This marriage was a blow to the Protestant party, as Darnley was a Catholic. Murray and his followers regarded it as a menace and at once took up arms, but they were not joined by recruits as they had expected. They were powerless against the levies which the king and queen brought against them, and were driven to take refuge in England. Elizabeth also felt herself threatened by this marriage of Mary; for Darnley's mother was a grand-

GENEALOGICAL TABLE ILLUSTRATING MARY'S CLAIM TO THE ENGLISH THRONE.



daughter of Henry VII. of England, and by taking him as husband, Mary had strengthened her own claim to the English succession.

Mary's position was now most formidable to Elizabeth. The Catholic lords were recalled in Scotland, and everywhere throughout Europe Catholicism began to raise its head. It was generally believed that an understanding had been come to between France and Spain for the suppression of Protestantism. So alarmed was Elizabeth at the general aspect of affairs that she received Murray in the presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, scolded him for rebelling against his lawful sovereign, and extorted from him a statement, which deceived no one, that she had had no share in his rebellion. Mary was now triumphant. If only the fear of the political influence of Protestantism could overcome the national jealousy of France and Spain, Mary hoped that a great Catholic expedition would soon be made against England in her name.

Catholic plans in Scotland.

But Mary's triumph was destined to be brief. Her marriage with Darnley was an unhappy one. He was vain, dissolute, presumptuous, and foolish, and could neither help his wife by his counsels, nor recognise her superiority and obey. His vices outraged her feelings, and his conduct was restrained by no care for decorum. Their quarrel was notorious to all, and those who were discontented with Mary began to gather round Darnley. Parliament was to meet in March 1566, and Murray and the banished lords must then either appear and make good their cause or be outlawed and lose their estates.

Darnley's discontent.

Darnley then agreed to make common cause with the chiefs of the Protestant party. He entered into a bond to do his best to have Murray and the rest recalled. But he too was to have his own wrongs redressed; he entered

into another bond to have 'certain privy persons cut off, wicked and ungodly, not regarding her majesty's honour, but seeking their own commodity, especially a stranger Italian called Davie.' Darnley was seized with jealousy of the queen's confidential secretary, David Rizzio, who was her instrument for her secret intrigues with foreign powers, and who, through his late increase of importance, had given himself airs which deeply offended the proud Scottish nobles. Darnley thought that if Rizzio's influence was gone, he himself would be supreme.

So, on the evening of March 9, 1566, as Mary was seated in her chamber at Holyrood, with a few attendants, engaged in talk with Rizzio and Lady Argyle, Darnley entered, and spoke familiarly with the queen. He was soon followed by Lord Ruthven, in full armour, with pale and haggard face, since he had dragged himself from a bed of sickness to do this deed of blood. 'It would please your majesty,' he grimly said, 'to let yonder man Davie come forth of your presence, for he hath been over long there.' His meaning was at once clear. Rizzio, in terror, seized the queen's gown. More armed men rushed in. Rizzio was rudely detached, and Mary was thrust into her husband's arms. The wretched Italian was dragged to the chamber door, stabbed, and his body thrown down stairs. When the attendants of the palace hurried to the spot, they were dismissed by Darnley, who owned the deed as his. Murder of Rizzio.

On the next day Murray and the banished lords returned. Mary had heard Rizzio's fate, and saw at once the meaning of the plot laid against her. But her strong and subtle nature rose with the danger. She listened to Darnley's excuses and professed to forgive him. She received the banished lords, and pretended to be reconciled to them. But meanwhile she knew that the Earl of Huntley, and James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, both

devoted to her cause, had made their escape and were raising troops. By a bold stroke of policy she won over Darnley by her blandishments, managed to dissociate him from his confederates, and prevailed on the feeble plotter to disavow his share in Rizzio's murder. Then, having thus secured Darnley, she fled with him secretly on the night of March 12, to Dunbar, where Bothwell joined her with the forces which he had raised. On March 28 Mary returned to Edinburgh, and the rebel lords again fled before her. Again she was restored to power, and the birth of a son, afterwards James I. of England, on June 19, added still more to the strength of her position. It held out the prospect of an assured line of succession if Mary's claim to England were recognised. When Elizabeth heard of it, she burst into tears at the contrast between her own solitary condition and her rival's growth in power. 'The Queen of Scots,' she exclaimed, 'is the mother of a fair son, and I am a barren stock.'

Rise of Bothwell.

But meanwhile the conduct of Darnley had made him contemptible to everyone. Mary did not disguise her hatred for him, when once he had served her purpose of depriving the rebel lords of any lawful head. His confederates, whom he had weakly deserted, could no longer trust him. He had no claims on the Protestants, and to the Catholics Mary was the natural head. He wandered about the court, despised by all, pouring out his complaints to anyone who would listen to him. Once he talked of fleeing to France, but was prevented, as that would have caused a scandal. There was talk of a divorce between him and the queen; but this, too, would have raised unpleasant questions.

Mary, on her part, gave all her confidence to Bothwell, who had come to her aid at Dunbar. She gave him the rich abbey lands of Melrose and Haddington, and

conferred on him the offices of Lord High Admiral and Warden of the Scottish Borders. By these means he had become the most powerful man in the kingdom, and having won so much, hoped to win still more. Mary was greatly under his influence. After the trials and excitement she had gone through, she seems to have lost some of her force and power of self-reliance. She threw herself upon Bothwell, and her feelings towards him became more and more passionate. Bothwell formed a scheme for marrying the queen, though she already had a husband and he a wife.

Darnley was first got rid of, but in a way so clumsy that it could scarcely hope to escape detection. He had been attacked by smallpox, and was removed to Glasgow, to be tended by his father, Lennox. When he was somewhat recovered, the queen paid him a visit, and arranged that he should come back, not to Holyrood, but to a place close to the city wall, called Kirk-of-Field. On the evening of February 9, 1567, the house was blown up by gunpowder while Mary was at a ball at Holyrood, and Darnley was found dead in the garden. Murder of Darnley.

Mary was now a widow, but it was at once suspected by everyone that Bothwell had been the author of Darnley's death. Mary affected to believe that it was a plot against herself, which she had fortunately escaped. But the voice of rumour could not be stilled. Placards were found affixed to the door of the Tolbooth, accusing Bothwell of the murder. Darnley's father, Lennox, wrote to the queen demanding a trial, which was at length granted. But Bothwell overawed the capital with his troops. The trial was looked upon as a prosecution instituted by Lennox, not by the Crown. Lennox was afraid to venture to Edinburgh, as the queen forbade him to bring more than his household servants to attend him, and he

was afraid of his life. Bothwell was acquitted because no prosecutor appeared, and no evidence against him was tendered.

Bothwell's plans now advanced more rapidly. He succeeded in getting a number of the chief lords of Scotland to sign a bond that they would promote his marriage with the queen. Then, on April 31, as the queen was returning from Stirling, whither she had gone to visit her child, Bothwell intercepted her and carried her off to his castle of Dunbar.

Mary's marriage with Bothwell.

There was still the difficulty in the way of Mary's marriage to Bothwell, that Bothwell's wife, sister of the Earl of Huntley, was still alive. A divorce was therefore necessary, and as Bothwell was a Protestant, while Mary was a Catholic, it was determined to make assurance doubly sure. In the Protestant Court of Commissaries Bothwell's wife sued for and obtained a divorce from her husband on the ground of adultery. The Consistorial Court of the old religion was re-established by royal warrant, and divorce was pronounced on the ground of consanguinity according to the laws of the Roman Church. When the divorces had thus been settled, Bothwell, who meanwhile had been created Duke of Orkney and Shetland, married Mary on May 15, 1567.

By her marriage with Bothwell, whose guilt in regard to Darnley's murder was almost universally acknowledged, Mary had ruined her own reputation, not only in Scotland, but in Europe generally. Elizabeth had watched her rival sink deeper and deeper, till she had ceased for the time to be dangerous. Mary's infatuation for Bothwell had destroyed her political wisdom; she had given reins to her own passions and had paid no heed to her great plans. By her marriage with a Protestant she had ceased to be the head of the Catholic party. By her marriage with a man of

Results of the marriage.

Bothwell's character she had roused a deep feeling of disgust throughout Scotland.

The rapid rise and overweening power of Bothwell filled the Scottish lords with alarm. Never before had they known what strength the Crown might gain when allied to a powerful feudal house, and now they saw their independence threatened by this union of Mary and Bothwell. Many of those who had signed the bond to aid Bothwell began to plot against him, and when Mary summoned the feudal levies for an expedition to the Borders she met with no answer to her call. Alarmed, she and Bothwell retired to Borthwick Castle, whither they were soon followed by a force under Lords Morton and Home, who declared they had come to free Mary from the power of Bothwell. As Borthwick Castle could not be held against them Bothwell first made his escape; afterwards Mary joined him, and both took refuge in Dunbar. The lords advanced to Edinburgh, where the Castle was at once surrendered to them. They issued a proclamation, charging Bothwell with having murdered the king, and entrapped Mary into an 'unhonest marriage.' Bothwell raised his forces, and the lords marched out of Edinburgh to meet him. The armies met at Musselburgh; but Bothwell saw that his ranks were thinned by desertions. He declined a battle, and Mary surrendered herself at Carberry, on condition that Bothwell was allowed to escape (June 15, 1567). Bothwell fled to Dunbar, and afterwards to his duchy of Orkney; thence he went to Denmark, where he died in 1577.

Mary was brought back to Edinburgh amidst the execrations of the crowd. Banners representing the king's murder were waved before her eyes, and the figure of the young prince was represented, calling for vengeance on his father's murderers. Mary had by her conduct forfeited for ever her great position in Europe. It was

hopeless for her, covered with shame and disgrace as she now was, to expect help from France. She had lost all the sympathies of her people, and could never again make herself strong in Scotland. The lords had hoped to detach her from Bothwell, and govern in her name; but when she still clung to her worthless husband, she was removed from Edinburgh and confined in Lochleven Castle.

Mary in the hands of her nobles.

Three days after this, June 20, a casket belonging, it is said, to Bothwell fell into the hands of the confederate lords. This casket contained letters purporting to be addressed by Mary to Bothwell, which he had kept as a means of securing his influence over her. The letters themselves were full of the most passionate love for Bothwell, and were concerned with schemes for ridding themselves of Darnley. If these letters were genuine they would establish the depth of Mary's guilt and infamy. But the balance of evidence at present seems to tend to the conclusion that they were forgeries. There were motives enough why such letters should have been forged by those who wanted some convincing proofs of the suspicions which they, perhaps justly, entertained. At all events they were accepted as genuine and were acted upon by the lords at the time. The queen was treated as guilty of murder, and was made to sign an abdication of the crown in favour of her son, and a nomination of her half-brother Murray as regent. (July 24, 1567.)

Henceforth Mary was no longer queen of Scotland. How deep her own guilt may have been is a matter of controversy; for since her death Mary has been a symbol for political and religious ideas, as much almost as she was during her lifetime. But even if we acquit her entirely of the blackest crimes of which she has been accused, she must still be held to have sacrificed strangely the great

interests committed to her charge. Mary had wrought her own ruin, and Elizabeth had witnessed with an intense feeling of relief the hurried steps in her rival's downward course. England was saved from the danger of a Catholic restoration in Scotland and a great Catholic combination to establish Mary on the English throne. How pressingly near this danger was at the time of Mary's fall, we shall see if we consider the position of the Spanish power at the time.

BOOK III.

SPAIN AND THE NETHERLANDS.

CHAPTER I.

THE SPANISH MONARCHY.

THE power exercised by Charles V. had come to him from different sources. He had gathered it into his hands not because he was the representative of any great political idea, but because he was the heir of many ruling families. Charles V. had been educated in Flanders under the care of his aunt, from whom he imbibed the principles of the old Burgundian policy. His great-grandfather on his father's side, Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, had done his best to break down the power of the King of France, and had formed the plan of creating a separate kingdom along the Rhine, embracing his dominions of Burgundy and the Netherlands. His attempt had failed, and the French king had seized upon his Burgundian domains. It was the first object of Charles V. to recover these possessions from France.

Power of Charles V.

At first Charles began to govern in the interests of the Flemings; but this was so distasteful to the Castilians that it provoked a serious rebellion. Charles saw his mistake, and detached himself for the future from any special connexion with any one of the

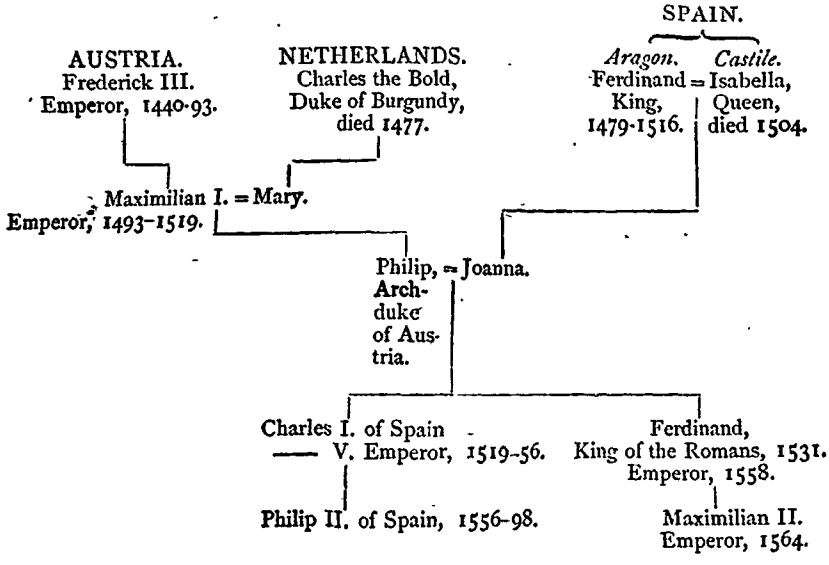
Beginning of his reign.

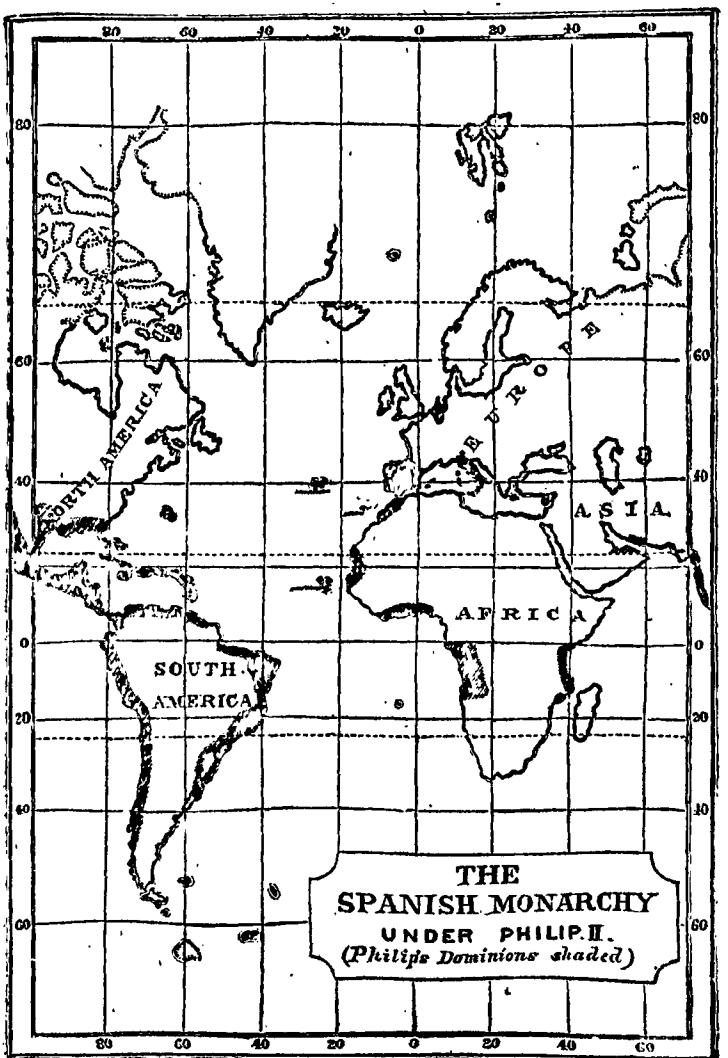
countries under his rule. He governed Castile, Aragon, the Netherlands, Germany, Milan, Naples, Sicily, besides settlements in Africa and the New World But over all these he ruled by a different title, and exercised a different power. One great object of his reign had been to make his power supreme in each of these his dominions, and to weld them together by means of a common administrative system.

To a great extent Charles V. succeeded. In Castile, Milan, Naples and Sicily, the royal power secured its supremacy by pitting against one another contending parties in the old constitution, while it made good its own position as against them both. In Germany we have seen that Charles V. did not succeed in securing the permanent supremacy of his own house. In the Netherlands he saw the necessity of behaving with moderation and of respecting the constitutional privileges of the several provinces. For the Netherlands were the wealthiest part of his dominions, and had always been engaged in commerce. The great trading cities each possessed its charter, and they were willing to grant money only when this charter was rigidly respected. Government of Charles V.

It was from the cities of the Netherlands that Charles V. had raised the greater part of the money that had enabled him to carry on his war with France. He was too prudent to quarrel with the people of these provinces, or attempt to make any changes in their constitution. The government was carried on by means of a perpetual balance between the power of the prince and the rights of the provinces and cities. The Netherlands gave Charles money liberally; but they asserted that they would do it of their own free will, and would not pay an arbitrary tax. To this Charles answered that he would grant them liberties, but they should not haggle in the Netherlands.

TABLE SHOWING PARENTAGE OF CHARLES V.




80
60
40
20
0
20
40
60
NORTH AMERICA
EUROPE
ASIA
AFRICA
SOUTH AMERICA
THE
SPANISH MONARCHY
UNDER PHILIP II.
(Philips Dominions shaded)

with him like a huckster. On this basis of the recognition of mutual rights by prince and people, the provinces of the Netherlands were loyal to Charles V.; they looked upon him as a native prince, for he had been brought up among them.

But under Philip II. all this began to change. Philip had been brought up in Castile, and was Spanish in character, in manner, in appearance, in language. His coldness, haughtiness, and pride vexed the Flemings; his reserve seemed to them to be contemptuous. Yet they were loyal to Philip at first. It was the troops of the Netherlands that won for him the decisive battle of St. Quentin and enabled him to make with France the Peace of Câteau Cambresis (1559).

Changes made by Philip II.

When this had been concluded Philip returned to Spain, which he never left again. Charles V. had not ruled in the interest of any one of the countries under his power. He had had no capital, but moved about from place to place according as the necessities of the times demanded. But Philip II. first gave to the power which he had inherited a fixed seat in Castile; he founded a Spanish empire, with Madrid as its capital. From Madrid he himself would govern his dominions. The countries over which he ruled were to be regarded as provinces of Spain; they should be cared for by Spanish viceroys, and be treated as members of a great administrative system. This change in the political relations of the countries which formed the dominions of Philip II. came gradually. When once it had been made it was most important for the destinies of Europe. If one man were to wield absolutely all the resources of these scattered provinces, if he were to infuse into all these peoples the daring, fierce, fanatical spirit of the Spaniards, if he were to combine them to fight for Spain and

Catholicism, the control of the future of Europe would be in his hands.

Philip II. was profoundly ambitious. Like his ancestors, he believed that to his house belonged the rule of the world. But he was obliged to adapt his method to his own individual character and capacity. He was no military leader who could inspire his soldiers by his presence, nor was he a vigorous and genial prince, whose winning and affable manners might create enthusiasm for his rule. But he was a diligent, industrious, calm, and calculating politician. The personal disadvantages and ill-health which prevented him from taking a brilliant part in the affairs of the world might, make him more fit to take a decisive one. Alone, in quietness, unswayed by the passions of combatants and undisturbed by the tumult of discordant advice, he might, as from a height of contemplation, look down upon the complicated affairs of Europe and shape them to his own ends. This was Philip's ideal of life. In the seclusion of his gloomy residence of the Escurial, he aimed at pulling the threads which were to move the course of Europe. From morning to night he sat alone in his cabinet and received the despatches which poured in from every quarter. All communications were carried on with him by writing, and he was his own chief minister. The despatches were read and read again, they were marked and underlined and analysed and commented on in their margin. They were laid aside and carefully weighed and compared laboriously with others; their truth and the integrity of their writers were tested by every means which the ingenuity of a suspicious nature without a spark of affection or sympathy could suggest. At last the conclusion drawn from all this careful thought and comparison of contradictory authorities slowly took shape as a definite plan. All was calmly and deliberately done;

Character of Philip II.

when a plan was once formed it was deliberately carried out, and no exultation followed its success, no complaint its failure. Philip was an admirable and conscientious man of business. He set about the task of governing the world as though it had been a trade, and if the world could have been governed by the industry of a painstaking clerk, Philip would have succeeded admirably.

Philip never trusted anyone, but regarded his ministers as instruments for carrying out his schemes. Habitually reserved himself, he listened to everything that was told him without betraying his own feelings. Rival ministers poured out to him their accusations against one another; he listened without being carried away. He allowed a plan to be carried out, but judged it solely by its success, and if it failed he at once abandoned its contriver. None of his ministers were sure of his continued favour. If he distrusted a man, he gave no sign of it till he had gradually detached him from the business in which he was employed, and had deprived him of all means of being harmful; then he suddenly dismissed him.

Philip felt that the weakness of his political position was its unattractiveness and want of interest in the eyes of ordinary men. This interest he secured by completely identifying himself and his policy with the cause of Catholicism. In so doing he was no hypocrite, for he was sincerely religious. But he saw the advantage to be gained by making his own interests coincide with those of the old religion. As the champion of Catholicism he interfered in the affairs of Europe in such away that the gain of Catholicism must in every case lead to an increase in the power of Spain. It was for this purpose that he identified his government with Spain, which had still fresh in its memory the crusades against the Moors, and where Protestant opinions were regarded as a sure token of the taint of Jewish or Moorish blood.

Philip's religious policy.

Thus, under Philip, Spain became enthusiastically Catholic. The Castilians felt their pride gratified at seeing their country made the seat of Philip's power, and they were willing to be taxed for its maintenance. Their chivalrous spirit was enlisted on the side of their religion. Round Philip's person, as being the champion of that religion, was thrown the glamour of a passionate loyalty, such as was far removed from the old Spanish spirit. Philip had been wise in identifying himself with Spain. He had obtained by that means, in spite of all his disadvantages, a power which his father had never been able to gain. It remained for Philip to establish the spirit of Spain in the other parts of his dominions, especially in the Netherlands.

Philip identified with Spain.

CHAPTER II.

THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS.

THE country, which at the present day forms the two kingdoms of Holland and Belgium, was called, from its geographical position, the Netherlands, or the Low Countries. It consists of a large plain, formed round the mouths of the three great rivers, the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheld. During the middle ages, this land had belonged to many different lords, but was at last slowly united in the hands of the Valesian Dukes of Burgundy, until by the marriage of Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold, to the Emperor Maximilian I., it had passed under the rule of the house of Austria. Charles V. inherited it as Maximilian's grandson.

The Netherlands.

But still, under Charles V., the Netherlands did not

form one state for administrative purposes. Each of the seventeen provinces of which it was composed had its own constitution, its own assembly of Estates, and some had their own stadtholder, or local governor. For common purposes general assemblies were held of the Estates of all the provinces; but each province granted taxes separately, and presented to the prince its own statement of grievances. Each province had its own charter and its own privileges, to which it tenaciously clung. The principle of local government was strong in the Netherlands, and it would obviously be no easy task for Philip to reduce them to the position of a province of the Spanish monarchy. The towns were rich, and the burghers had a strong spirit of independence. The nobles were numerous and warlike, men accustomed to high positions of confidence, many of them impoverished, and almost all ambitious. The question was, whether Philip would manage to mould them to his will.

Their government.

In the early part of the sixteenth century, the trade of the Netherlands had immensely increased. The Portuguese discoverers, by opening a direct communication by sea with India and Southern Africa, had deprived Venice of the monopoly of trade with the East. Italy generally had been turned into the battle-field of Europe, and its commerce began to decay. Trade took up its abode more decidedly than before in the north of Europe. Antwerp became the great commercial capital of the world, and the Venetian ambassador sighed to see Venice surpassed. Everywhere throughout the Netherlands trade flourished and wealth abounded. The people lived in opulence and comfort. They were laborious, diligent, and ingenious. They had no delight in war, save as a means of securing lasting peace. They took no pleasure in martial exercises; but on their holidays their 'guilds of rhetoric' delighted to

Their prosperity.

represent some allegory, where they could set forth in visible form some moral truth or maxim of worldly wisdom, decked with all the glory of costume that art could devise and wealth supply.

When Philip left the Netherlands in 1559, he appointed as regent his half-sister Margaret, Duchess of Parma. To help her in the government was a State Council, composed mostly of native nobles; but this was checked by a privy council, consisting of those whom Philip could trust; and even they soon found that the regent had received orders to do nothing which was disapproved of by Antony Perrenot, generally known as Cardinal Granvella. Granvella was the son of the chief minister of Charles V., and had himself served the Emperor; he was now bishop of Arras and was supposed to be deep in Philip's confidence, and entirely devoted to Philip's interest. He was an ecclesiastic, and as such was likely to use all his influence to suppress the growing movement towards the reformed doctrines which Charles V. had in vain tried to keep down.

The nobles soon found themselves neglected. William of Nassau, whose father had been one of Charles V.'s most faithful generals, and who had himself been a great favourite of the Emperor, found that he was subordinate to Granvella. William is generally known by the title of Prince of Orange. He inherited this small principality from a cousin who married the heiress of Orange-Chalons, and died without children. Count Egmont, who had won for Philip the battle of St. Quentin, and Count Horn, one of the chief commanders of the day, both found that Philip employed only Spaniards, and passed them by. The burghers felt that they were in danger of falling under a foreign yoke. They refused, according to their old liberties, to admit any foreigner to hold any office in the provinces. Their jea-

Opposition to Philip II.

lousy was awakened by the presence of Spanish troops which had been levied for war against France. Before Philip left, the Estates demanded their withdrawal, as it was against their liberties to have foreign troops quartered within their borders. He promised angrily to withdraw them, but did his best to find excuses for keeping them there. The Zealanders threatened, that if their land were longer polluted by foreign troops, they would open their dykes and let in the ocean, rather than endure their hated presence. The regent was obliged to write and urge their withdrawal, which was reluctantly acceded to by Philip at the end of 1560.

Philip's ecclesiastical measures.

When once popular suspicion was roused, everything tended to excite it more; and the ecclesiastical measures of the king soon created a ferment. The Netherlands had only three bishoprics, and Philip had applied to the Pope to increase the number. A papal bull was accordingly issued, making three archbishops and fifteen bishops. These were to be endowed out of monastic property; and in this way the wealth of the younger members of the noble families would be diminished, while the king, who was to appoint to the bishoprics, would greatly strengthen his political power, and also would have the means of putting down heresy more effectually. The nobles saw in this a means of increasing the power of the detested Granvella; if religious persecutions were admitted, he might attack them under pretext of heresy. The Inquisition, an institution with regular officials and courts for enquiring into cases of heresy, had been established in the Netherlands by Charles V. in 1522, and had soon committed great devastations. The persecution carried on by the inquisitors, already sufficiently hateful to the people, had been increased in rigour by an edict of Charles V. in 1550, and another of Philip in 1555.

Granvella accordingly was unpopular amongst all classes. The nobles addressed remonstrances to the king, asking for his removal, but with no effect. At last several of the chief of them entered into a league of defence against him. He was attacked in caricatures and lampoons by the people. The nobles, to ridicule his pomp and display, adopted a livery of the plainest serge, embroidered only at the sleeve with a fool's cap, which might be taken also for a monk's cowl. This rude Flemish wit told among the people. Even the regent began to tire of her subordination to Granvella. Orange, Egmont, and Horn all withdrew from the State Council, saying that they were mere shadows there, and Granvella was the sole reality.

Withdrawal of Granvella.

At last the king was obliged to give way. He wrote to Granvella (February, 1564,) saying that it would be well for him to leave the country for a few days to visit his mother; and Granvella never returned. The nobles were triumphant. Orange, Egmont, and Horn resumed their seats at the Council, resolved to carry out their own plans, and secure a national government for the Netherlands.

Meanwhile, however, the new bishops had been appointed, and new ecclesiastical arrangements were being carried out. Religious persecutions were more rigorously conducted, and popular discontent had increased. The Spanish troops and the Spanish minister had been got rid of; but it seemed that the Spanish influence would return through the Church, and that the authority of Philip would be established under cover of the maintenance of religion. Nobles and people alike bent their endeavours to procure a modification of the religious edicts; if they could be suspended, the new bishops would be politically harmless. Count Egmont was sent to Philip to represent the state

Religious opposition to Philip.

of affairs. But Philip would not yield on this point; he received Egmont kindly, and dismissed him with fair speeches; but he sent to the regent, ordering the publication of the canons which had just been passed by the Council of Trent, and bidding the magistrates everywhere to help the inquisitors to put down heresy.

The nobles were alarmed at this, the people were in a fury. It was suspected that an alliance had been made between France and Spain to crush the Protestants, and establish the royal power more firmly in the dominions of both. A deep determination to resist the Inquisition spread among all classes in society, amongst patriotic Catholics as much as amongst the threatened Protestants. This feeling, early in 1566, found its expression in what is known as the 'Compromise,' which was a bond declaring the Inquisition to be 'iniquitous, contrary to all laws, human and divine.' The signers bound themselves to 'extirpate and eradicate the thing in any form, as the mother of all iniquity and disorder.'

The Compromise was largely signed by the lesser nobles and the richer merchants. The merchants especially felt the pressure of the disturbed state of things. It is reckoned that 30,000 Flemish weavers had fled to England before the persecution. There they were readily welcomed by Elizabeth. She gave them settlements in Sandwich and Norwich, and every Fleming so settled was obliged by law to employ at least one English apprentice. The English learned better the arts of cloth-making, silk-making, and dyeing, and no longer exported their wool for manufacture to Flanders. Instead of Antwerp sending its wares to England, Norwich sent out vessels laden with English fabrics for sale in the marts of Flanders. The Netherlands began to feel acutely the result of Philip's policy of intolerance.

Commercial effects on England.

The signers of the Compromise next drew up a petition to the regent, setting forth that the Inquisition was likely to lead to rebellion, and begging her to suspend it until the king's pleasure could be more fully known. It was presented with great ceremony, by a body of some two hundred nobles, on April 5, 1566. The duchess dismissed them without an answer; she was much agitated, and one of her counsellors, Berlaymont, exclaimed, to cheer her—'What, madam, is it possible your highness can fear these beggars (gueux)?' The saying spread, and the confederates in bravado adopted the badge of a beggar's wallet, and called themselves 'the beggars' (les gueux). The excitement spread amongst the common people, who flocked in crowds to hear the Protestant preachers. In the Netherlands, as elsewhere, Protestantism had assumed a strong political significance; but in the Netherlands it did so almost at once, for it was associated most directly with opposition to the foreign oppressor.

Rise of 'the Beggars.'

This popular excitement could not last long without finding some very definite expression. On August 18 was the ceremony of the 'Ommegang,' or procession of a miraculous image of the Virgin at Antwerp. As the priests swept through the streets, they were greeted by the jeers of the crowd—'Mayken! Mayken! (little Mary),' they exclaimed, 'your hour is come.' For the next two days there were riots in the cathedral; at last the crowd was roused to fury; the image was torn in pieces, and all the images and statues that adorned the building were pulled down. The example was followed in other churches, and soon spread to other towns. A wave of iconoclasm passed over the and, and the noble ecclesiastical buildings of many cities in the Netherlands were robbed of their richest ornaments.

Image-breaking at Antwerp.

The duchess was alarmed and was on the point of flight. She was stayed, however, by her council, and on August 25 published an 'Accord,' which abolished the Inquisition, and allowed liberty of preaching the new doctrines in places where it had already been practised.

Philip, however, was not likely to be content with this. He waited first for the natural reaction to follow on the iconoclastic riots. All moderate men had been shocked by them; all fervent Catholics had been dismayed by this turn of affairs. The leading nobles had been willing enough to use Protestant religious feeling as a political weapon against Philip; but they were not prepared to establish Protestantism. They were willing enough to bring pressure to bear upon the king; but they felt they could not be concerned in riots, and they were not prepared for violent measures against Philip. Egmont withdrew from his former opposition and resolved henceforward to serve Philip. Horn retired to his own house, determined to interfere no more in political matters. The confederate nobles, now somewhat weary of noisy demonstration, professed themselves satisfied with the Accord, and dissolved their bond.

Reaction in Philip's favour.

The result of this naturally was that the hands of the government were strengthened, and the party of opposition was hopelessly divided. It was not long before the regent took advantage of this state of feeling. The disturbances were everywhere checked. The city of Valenciennes, which had refused to admit a garrison, was besieged and at last taken by Egmont, who punished the citizens with ruthless severity. He was determined to prove his loyalty to Philip, and show him that he had no sympathy with rebellion. The fate of Valenciennes was decisive for the time; the Protestants either hastened to make their submission, or left the country. A new

and most stringent oath of allegiance, requiring a promise of unqualified obedience to the government, was imposed on all who held office under the Crown. It was taken by all the nobles, except only the Prince of Orange, who refused to admit this innovation upon the old constitution. He resigned all his offices, and withdrew from the Netherlands into Germany, to see what course events were likely to take.

There were in Philip II.'s privy council two men whose opinion most weighed with him: the Duke of Alva and Don Ruy Gomez de Silva, Prince of Eboli. They were two widely different men. Ruy Gomez had gained the royal favour by his suppleness and address; he thoroughly knew his master's character and fell in unobtrusively with his master's ways; Philip was helped in the process of thinking, which he found a slow one, by the forethought and considerateness of his careful minister, who seemed to anticipate his thoughts, yet with due deference. Alva, on the other hand, was a noble of the old Spanish type, haughty, proud, self-asserting, who felt that his position was only the due reward of his merits; he was devoted to the king, for only in the king's service could he honourably obtain glory. Between these two ministers a bitter opposition raged. Philip encouraged each of them in turn, and listened to the complaints of the one against the other, for he thought that in this way he would get to their true opinions, and so would gain the greatest amount of good out of both. Philip's designs.

About the policy to be pursued towards the Netherlands these two ministers, as usual, differed. Ruy Gomez, as being no soldier, was in favour of pacific measures; Alva, as one of the chief captains of the age, advocated severe repression. He undertook, if he were only supplied with Spanish troops, to reduce the Nether-

lands to subjection once for all, and secure that the Netherland taxes should flow regularly into Philip's coffers. The wealth of the heretics was to pay for the war and enrich the king as well. Philip's finances could ill endure the losses that came from the disturbed state of the Netherlands. He agreed with Alva's policy and sent him with an army of 10,000 veterans, the picked troops of Italy and Spain, to reduce the provinces to submission.

Alva set out in May, 1567, resolved to do his work thoroughly. His own political credit was at stake. Here was a splendid opportunity of doing the greatest possible service to the king, of vindicating his own foresight, and of returning triumphant over his rival. He went to the Netherlands with full powers, and the Duchess of Parma, finding herself superseded, resigned her office and retired. Alva occupied the towns with his troops. Determined to strike terror at once, he arrested Counts Egmont and Horn, and committed them to prison. He next established a council for the trial of offences committed during the recent disturbances. From its severity this council has won for itself the title of the 'Blood Council,' and the number of its victims spread terror throughout the land. Counts Egmont and Horn were indicted on the charge of having stirred up a plot against the king; they were found guilty and condemned to death. Neither their high position, their noble birth, nor their former services could save them from Philip's wrath. They were beheaded on June 5, 1568, in the great square at Brussels.

Alva sent to the Netherlands.

Alva had cowed the Netherlands into submission; but there was still one man who talked of resistance, one whom Alva's power could not reach. The Prince of Orange, condemned by the Blood Council with Egmont and Horn, published, from his retirement in Germany, a 'Justification,' which

Resistance of the Prince of Orange.

was an indignant attack upon Philip's tyranny. A change had come over the character of Orange. Up to this time he had been an adherent of the old Church; but his opinions slowly changed in exile. He became a determined Protestant of the school of Calvin, yet with views of wider toleration than were common in his day. He now, in Philip's name, enlisted soldiers against Alva, and granted a commission to his brother, Count Louis of Nassau, setting forth that to show his love to the king and to the provinces, and to maintain the privileges sworn to by the king, he empowered his brother to enrol troops. At first Count Louis obtained some advantage in Friesland, and hoped for assistance from the Huguenots in France. But Alva took the field against him and at Jemmingen the raw recruits of Count Louis fled at once before the veterans of Spain (July 22, 1568). For two days the fugitives were slaughtered. Count Louis succeeded in making his escape, but few of his soldiers were so fortunate; seven Spaniards only were killed, and seven thousand rebels. It seemed too clear that it was hopeless for the unhappy Netherlanders to think of resistance. But Orange was not daunted; in September he entered Brabant and challenged Alva, who refused a battle, but inflicted severe damage on the army of Orange, who, after a month's campaign, was obliged to retire without having effected anything.

Again Alva was triumphant. The Netherlands lay at his feet. His severities were redoubled, and in the citadel of Antwerp he erected a colossal statue to himself, for having 'extinguished sedition, chastised rebellion, restored religion, secured justice, and established peace.'

CHAPTER III.

RESULTS OF ALVA'S MEASURES ON FRANCE, ENGLAND, AND SCOTLAND.

ALVA'S measures in the Netherlands were felt as a menace to Protestantism throughout Europe generally. If Philip succeeded, he would first help to put down the Huguenots in France, and then would turn his attention to England.

In France the Huguenots were at once stirred to alarm by their danger. They saw that the queen-mother leant towards the Catholic party, and that the Cardinal of Lorraine again took his place at the Council. Troops were being raised by the government, ostensibly to protect the frontier, but the Huguenots suspected that they might be used against themselves. Determined to forestall the danger, they swiftly and secretly armed, and made an attempt to surprise the court at Monceaux, near Meaux, their plan being to compel the removal of the cardinal and the dismissal of the Swiss troops. The surprise failed, and the court escaped to Paris. The old Constable Montmorency led the royal army against the rebels, and after a fierce battle, in which he was killed, defeated them at St. Denis, November 10, 1567. A German army came to their aid, and the king was compelled to make peace, and re-issue the edict of toleration in its full extent. (March, 1568.)

Rising of the Huguenots.

But this pacification was not to last long. Alva urged upon the young king of France that to make concessions in matters concerning religion was beyond the royal power; he was granting what belonged to God, not to himself. Alva's example encouraged other Catholic

powers. Moreover, he offered the French king aid against the rebels. The late rising of the Huguenots had filled the common people with terror of their power, and there was a strong feeling against them. The edict of pacification was revoked, on the demand of the Pope, only six months after it had been granted. Both parties armed, and the struggle which in 1568 had been carried on in the Netherlands was in 1569 to be carried on in France.

The Prince of Orange and Count Louis of Nassau made common cause with the Huguenots; the German Protestants sent them succours, and Elizabeth sent them money. But they were not fortunate in battle; in May they were defeated at Jarnac, and their leader, Condé, was slain. When in October they again ventured to meet the royal forces under the Duke of Anjou, the king's brother, they were disastrously defeated at Moncontour. Still Coligny did not despair. He retreated in good order towards Rochelle, the district round which had become exclusively Protestant. It was vain to attempt to subdue this country. It had refused to recognise the legality of the act which withdrew the edict of tolerance, and now declared itself to be under the government of the young Prince of Navarre. The little town of St. Jean d'Angely offered a stubborn resistance to the royal troops, though the king himself was in the camp. The men of Rochelle even fitted out a small fleet, with which they made raids on the neighbouring coast, seized booty, and sold it for the benefit of the prince whom they had adopted. Coligny again raised an army, and threatened to march against Paris.

Second religious war in France.

The Huguenots were too strong to be put down at once by force, and had been well aided by England and the Netherlands. If the war were to last, it could only be by a close alliance of the Catholic party with Spain. But here the old national

Peace of St. Germain, 1570.

jealousy stood in the way. Alva had not given such cordial help as was expected; his success in the Netherlands was threatening to France; to subdue the Huguenots by Philip's assistance would be to sacrifice the national independence and lay open a new field to the boundless ambition of Spain. The court resolved on peace, and offered again to renew the edict of pacification. But as the Huguenots demanded some guarantee for their security, four towns were put into their hands for two years, amongst them Rochelle. The peace of St. Germain (August 1570) again restored quiet in France; but it showed that, if need were, the Huguenots were determined to maintain their own safety by arms.

But the presence of Alva in the Netherlands affected England almost as closely as it did France. It was just at the time of Alva's expedition that Mary of Scotland had exhausted the patience of her subjects. The deposition and captivity of Mary deprived the Catholic party in England of its head. Mary at that time had so entirely disgraced herself in the eyes of Europe, that a rising in her name was not to be thought of. Still Elizabeth was afraid of Alva, and was unwilling to seem to be in league with the Scottish nobles, who had deposed their sovereign. She felt the danger of admitting their right to do so. Though keenly alive to the advantages she had gained from recent events in Scotland, she could not bring herself to sanction them. Perhaps she thought that Mary had so far discredited herself as to be henceforth harmless; perhaps she thought that her restoration through English influence would silence her. At all events she urged her release upon the Scottish lords, till she was met by the threat that her further importunity might cost Mary her life.

Position of Mary in Scotland.

The nobles were resolved that Mary should not return

to power. But her party gathered strength from Alva's successes. Before she had been in prison a year she managed to escape to Hamilton, and soon found herself at the head of an army of her adherents. Murray, though taken by surprise, armed also, and cut off Mary's advance to the strong castle of Dumbarton Rock, where she felt she would be secure. The two armies met at Langside near Glasgow (May 13, 1568). The battle is interesting, as showing the strange results produced by the old method of warfare. In front of both armies were stationed the heavy armed men. When they charged, the spears of both opposing lines stuck in the joints of each other's armour. The front lines were consequently fastened together, and the battle became a mere tussle, in which the hinder ranks could take no part, except by throwing stones and sticks over the impeding mass of mail. At last the battle was decided by a charge of Murray's cavalry. Mary's troops fled, and she herself galloped from the field and hurried across the Solway Frith to Workington. Thence she went to Carlisle, and begged for Elizabeth's protection.

Mary's escape from prison.

This was a step extremely perplexing to Elizabeth and her advisers. What was to be done? To restore Mary by force would be to alienate the Scots, and to establish in Scotland a hostile in place of a friendly government. To allow Mary to go to France would be to put a most dangerous instrument in the hands of the Catholic party on the Continent. To keep her in England was equally difficult, for Elizabeth had no grounds for treating her as a prisoner, and if she were at large she would be a centre for Catholic plots. Her presence in the northern counties was dangerous, for there the Catholics were strongest. Before Mary's presence and the story of her misfortunes, the remembrance of her crimes began to fade away, and the old chivalrous spirit

Mary in England.

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revived. It was thought wise to remove her from Carlisle to Bolton Castle in Yorkshire.

At first Elizabeth tried to arrange a compromise between Mary and the Regent Murray; but this was impossible. Mary demanded that Elizabeth should either restore her, or give her free passage to France. She asked for an interview. Elizabeth refused the interview till Mary had cleared herself of the charges brought against her, urging that she could not proceed to restore her, and so punish the rebellious lords, till she knew the extent of their guilt. Mary accordingly agreed to a conference, which was held at York towards the end of the year. The Duke of Norfolk, the chief Catholic peer, was the principal commissioner appointed by Elizabeth. Murray and Mary both sent their representatives; but the conference led to no decided result, except that the evidence against Mary for the murder of Darnley, including the 'casket letters,' was laid before the chief English peers. They reported to the queen that they had seen 'such foul matters' as to justify her in refusing to give Mary an interview. On the main question nothing was done. Mary still remained at Bolton, and Murray returned to Scotland with a loan of 5,000*l.* from Elizabeth, 'for the maintenance of peace between England and Scotland.'

Conference at York.

Elizabeth was still doubtful what course to pursue. The suppression of the Huguenots in France, and the entire subjugation of the Netherlands might arm all Europe against her. In the face of this danger Cecil and the Protestants urged the queen to put herself at the head of Protestantism in Europe, to make war openly against Alva, and send back Mary to Scotland. The Catholic and moderate party wished for peace with Spain, and the recognition of Mary's claim to the succession in England. Elizabeth adopted a middle

Conduct of Elizabeth

course. She sent money to the Huguenots in France, and seriously crippled Alva by seizing some ships laden with money for the pay of his soldiers, which had been driven by bad weather into Southampton and Plymouth (December 1568). Alva was furious, and seized all English ships and property in the Netherlands. Elizabeth retaliated on the Spaniards in England. She pleaded that the money belonged to Genoese bankers, not to Alva; it had come into her hands, and she had borrowed it instead of him. Philip, desirous of settling matters in the Netherlands before engaging with England, allowed the affront to pass by.

Similarly, Elizabeth hoped that the documents laid before her commissioners would destroy in their minds any doubts they might feel about Mary's detention. But in this she was mistaken. The Duke of Norfolk had formed the scheme of marrying Mary; and many who, from political reasons, were opposed to Cecil, and were in favour of a conciliatory policy towards Mary and Spain, promised him their assistance. Elizabeth, however, discovered the plan too soon. Norfolk was committed for a short time to the Tower, and his confederates, amongst whom was Leicester, were for a while disgraced.

Norfolk and Mary.

Mary was indeed a dangerous captive. Her partisans had waited to see if this powerful political coalition would succeed; but when they saw that it had failed and that Cecil's watchfulness was not to be eluded, they had recourse to arms. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland headed a premature rising in the north. They demanded the restoration of the old religion and the dismissal of the queen's upstart advisers. They advanced to Durham, celebrated the mass once more in the cathedral, and tore the English Bible in pieces before the people. But

Rebellion of the Northern Earls.

their triumph was brief. The Catholic gentry were not yet prepared to turn rebels, and the aid expected from the Duke of Alva never came. The Earl of Sussex kept them occupied in the north till he was joined by reinforcements from the southern counties. When at length he was strong enough to proceed against them, the rebel army dispersed. Westmoreland fled to the Netherlands, where he ended his days miserably in the receipt of a small pension from Philip. Northumberland took refuge in Scotland, where he was taken prisoner by Murray, and at last given up to the English government and executed at York.

Cruelty in its suppression.

The rebellion was easily put down, and severely punished. The queen had been thoroughly frightened, and her terror showed itself in revenge. Sussex complained that he was left in the north 'but to direct hanging matters.' In every little village the insurgents were sought out and executed. As yet Elizabeth had been merciful; but as the great conflict of her reign deepened around her, mercy gave way before desperate endeavours.

Still, the end of the year 1569 showed Elizabeth to be strong in her hold upon her people. The long-threatened Catholic rebellion had failed to shake her position. Alva had not yet felt himself strong enough to help her rebels. Philip, in spite of an outrageous affront, was not prepared for war. There was nothing to fear from France; for the French dread of Spain was tending to bring England and France nearer together, and a French marriage was even proposed to Elizabeth.

CHAPTER IV.

STRUGGLE OF CATHOLICISM AND PROTESTANTISM, 1570-1572.

ONE great reason of the failure of the rising in England had been that the Catholics, as a body, did not join it. Their allegiance was as yet due to their queen, and they did not feel that their religion called upon them to take part in a rebellion. This feeling, however, was soon to be disturbed. Open and avowed hostility between Catholicism and Protestantism was to be introduced into England also.

Pope Pius V., Michele Ghislieri, had been a Dominican inquisitor before his elevation to the papacy. Austere, zealous and determined, he devoted all his energies to the suppression of heresy. Under his rule the Inquisition crushed out Protestantism in Italy. Though a man of fervent piety and blameless life, he shrunk from no measures which were likely to put down the schism. He rejoiced over Alva's cruelties in the Netherlands, and sent him a sword and cap which he had blessed, as a token of his favour. A man of this kind was not likely to leave the English Catholics doubtful of their duties. He proceeded to the excommunication of Elizabeth; but he did it secretly that he might not be prevented by the remonstrances of France and Spain. In May 1570 the bull of excommunication was found fixed on the door of the Bishop of London's house, and a student of Lincoln's Inn, by name Felton, paid with his life for his rash act.

Elizabeth excommunicated.

This excommunication was felt by Elizabeth and her ministers to be a declaration of war; it was resented by the mass of the English people as an act of aggression.

Moreover, fears for the queen's life had been awakened by recent events in Scotland. The Catholic party had there roused itself for a desperate effort, and had hoped, if the Regent Murray were removed, to succeed once more in gaining power. James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh undertook Murray's assassination, and shot him from the balcony of a house in Linlithgow, as he was riding out of the town, January 23, 1570. The result was anarchy in Scotland, where for the next few years a civil war raged between the queen's party and the adherents of the king.

Affairs in Scotland.

In England the Parliament which met in 1571 proceeded to pass bills declaring it high treason to call the queen a heretic, or to affirm that anyone particular person was her successor, or to publish any bull from the Pope. A bill was even introduced to compel all above a certain age to receive the Communion according to the established service; but this was withdrawn after a discussion. The Catholic attack upon England had called forth severe reprisals. England entered upon a course of persecution, not, however, of religious opinions as such, but because of their political consequences. Conformity to the Established Church was rigidly required from all; and while Parliament passed laws against the Catholics, the High Commission Court, under the presidency of Archbishop Parker, demanded from the Puritans obedience to the established ceremonies.

England's answer to the Pope.

The religious struggle was not long in breaking out again. The old plan of the liberation of Mary, her marriage with the Duke of Norfolk, and of the restoration of Catholicism was again revived. But this time it was seen that the aid of foreign powers was necessary for its success. Ridolfi, a Florentine, who had long resided in England, was sent to confer with the

Ridolfi's plot.

Duke of Alva, Philip II., and the Pope. Philip II. warmly entered into the scheme. The Pope declared himself ready to sell even the chalices from his churches for such a worthy object. It was agreed that Alva was to send 10,000 men to help the conspirators. But Ridolfi was too dull a plotter to escape the vigilance of Lord Burleigh, by which title Sir William Cecil was now known. A suspicious packet of papers was seized. Norfolk's secretary was imprisoned and confessed, and the whole plot was discovered. Mary's ambassador in England, the Bishop of Ross, was thrown into the Tower, and the Spanish ambassador was dismissed from England. Norfolk was brought to trial before his brother peers, was found guilty of treason and condemned to death. It was some time before Elizabeth could be brought to consent to the execution of the chief nobleman in the kingdom; but at last she gave way, and Norfolk was beheaded, June 2, 1572.

The rising of 1569 had failed, because it was confined within too narrow limits and had not appealed to the Catholic world. Now a great plot in which all the chief Catholic powers were to have taken part was stopped before it could come to a head, Philip II. did not venture to resent his ambassador's dismissal. The queen only became dearer to her people as they saw the efforts directed against her.

Meanwhile in France the dread of the encroachments of Spain had been increased. The combined fleets of Venice, the Pope, and Philip II. had won a brilliant victory at Lepanto over the Turks, and a new course of aggrandisement seemed open to Philip. France drew nearer to England, and proposals were made for a marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou, the younger brother of Charles IX. The negotiations gave Elizabeth an opportunity for the display of

France and England.

her vacillation and her delight in mystifying those around her. The marriage was not popular in England, and all talk of it was laid aside for a while in consequence of the events of 1572 in France.

Government of Charles IX.

In that country peace with the Huguenots and jealousy of Spain had become, both of them, parts of the royal policy. The young king, Charles IX., was of weak intelligence, yet of a wild and passionate nature. His education had been neglected owing to his feeble health, and he was unable to give serious attention to the affairs of state. He was entirely under the influence of his mother, Catharine de' Medici, who ruled in his name. Catharine was the daughter of the man to whom Machiavelli had dedicated the 'Prince,' and she was well skilled in all the arts of dissimulation. After living powerless at court during her husband's lifetime, she was determined to satisfy her desire for power when her time came. Yet her title to power was very precarious. She was a stranger by birth; she represented no great national interest, no political party; she was supported by no great family, and awoke no enthusiasm amongst the common people. Yet when she once had power in her hands she devoted all her energies to keep it. About the great questions which at that time agitated France, she was entirely indifferent; but she was willing to play off one party against the other so as to maintain herself in power. Tall, and of strong, commanding appearance, she exercised great influence over those who were around her. She had a powerful nature, which could adapt itself to any circumstances. She had great quickness of mind and penetration. She knew well how to conciliate opponents, and how to satisfy them without committing herself to definite promises. She trusted no one, and no one trusted her. She preferred to be regarded as a peacemaker and

Catharine de' Medici.

mediator between the contending parties in France; but would hesitate at nothing to rid herself of one who was likely to disturb her position.

Hence she had opposed the Guises, and had been a foe to Mary of Scotland. Over Charles IX. her rule seemed absolute, and she was determined to maintain it at any cost. But she saw this rule over her son's mind suddenly threatened. Charles IX. became jealous of the fame gained by his younger brother, the Duke of Anjou, who had been the leader of the victorious Catholics at the battle of Moncontour. The populace of Paris was distinguished by its bitter hatred of the Huguenots, whose chief opponent was always the popular hero of the capital. Charles IX. was alarmed at his brother's superior position; he was afraid of some plot against himself. Stung to a sudden energy, he determined to gain glory himself also. For this end he would make common cause with the Huguenots, and wage war against Spain.

Coligny.

The head of the Huguenot party was also the most famous general in France, and was in French history at this age the one prominent man who rose above the level of intrigue, fanaticism, and self-seeking into a higher region of lofty self-devotion. Gaspard de Coligny was sprung from an old Burgundian family, and was in early life distinguished as a soldier. He knew every branch of the soldier's trade, and to courage and coolness united a capacity for discipline and military organisation. He had undertaken the hopeless task of defending St. Quentin against Philip's army; he had undertaken it though he knew it to be hopeless, and knew that his reputation would suffer through the failure. He was taken prisoner in the battle, and during his imprisonment a change came over his religious opinions,

and he adopted the faith of Calvin. When the religious wars began in France, Coligny fully appreciated the momentous importance of the issue involved. He counted the cost, and gave himself unreservedly to the conflict. He asked his wife if she had the courage to face dangers, misfortunes, exile, and, if need were, death,—if she were prepared to ruin the future of her children for the sake of her religious convictions. His wife, as heroic as her husband, bade him go forth upon the path of duty without fear for her. In this spirit Coligny entered upon the strife. His mind was not under the sway of fierce passion, or desire for power, or thirst for fame. Sternly and sadly he undertook a sacred duty, which he carried out without being elevated by success or cast down by failure. Through evil report and good report he went upon his solitary way. His calm prudence and commanding temper enforced obedience upon his party, which respected and obeyed rather than loved him. High above the fierce passions, the mean intrigues, the unscrupulous self-seeking, which distinguished France in his age, his figure rises as the one man endowed with a noble purpose, who felt laid upon him a mighty weight of duty, which he must carry unflinchingly to the end.

Such was the man with whom Charles IX. now found himself brought into connexion. Coligny had so strong a belief in the possibility of a reconciliation between the two contending parties, that he went himself to the court to urge his views more decidedly. He endeavoured to fan the king's dread of Philip II., and prevail on him to declare war against Spain,—a step which must aid greatly the struggling cause of Protestantism in the Netherlands.

Coligny's plans.

In that country Alva's savage measures had failed of complete success. He flattered himself at the end of 1569

that he had put down heresy and had reduced the provinces to obedience. It only remained for him to carry out the rest of his promise, to make the provinces pay for the trouble they had given, and make them contribute largely to the royal resources for the future. For this purpose he devised a new scheme of taxation. Instead of grants of money being made by the states to their prince according to their sympathy with the purposes for which he proposed to use it, they were henceforth to pay according to a regular system. A tax of the twentieth penny (five per cent.) was to be paid every time real property changed hands; and a tax of the tenth penny (ten per cent.) was to be paid on all personal property or merchandise every time it was sold.

Alva's taxation of the Netherlands.

Alva was a soldier and not a financier, or he would have known that these measures would involve the entire ruin of the commerce of the Netherlands. An active trading people, made liable to this tax of ten per cent. on every sale, would necessarily be unable to manufacture and sell any article at the same price as formerly. Instead of being the great merchants of Europe, they would be unable to compete with other countries whose productions were not subject to this heavy tax. Alva's endeavour to increase the royal income by extorting money from the Netherlands would really result in a diminution of the capital sum on which the taxes must be levied, and would ruin the people without enriching the king.

Men who had stood by Alva and applauded him in his severe measures against heresy now rose in opposition against him. Loud outcries were raised in Madrid. In the Netherlands trade was at a standstill, and men shut their shops rather than submit to the tax. Universal discontent and deep hatred towards Alva prevailed amongst the whole mass of the people.

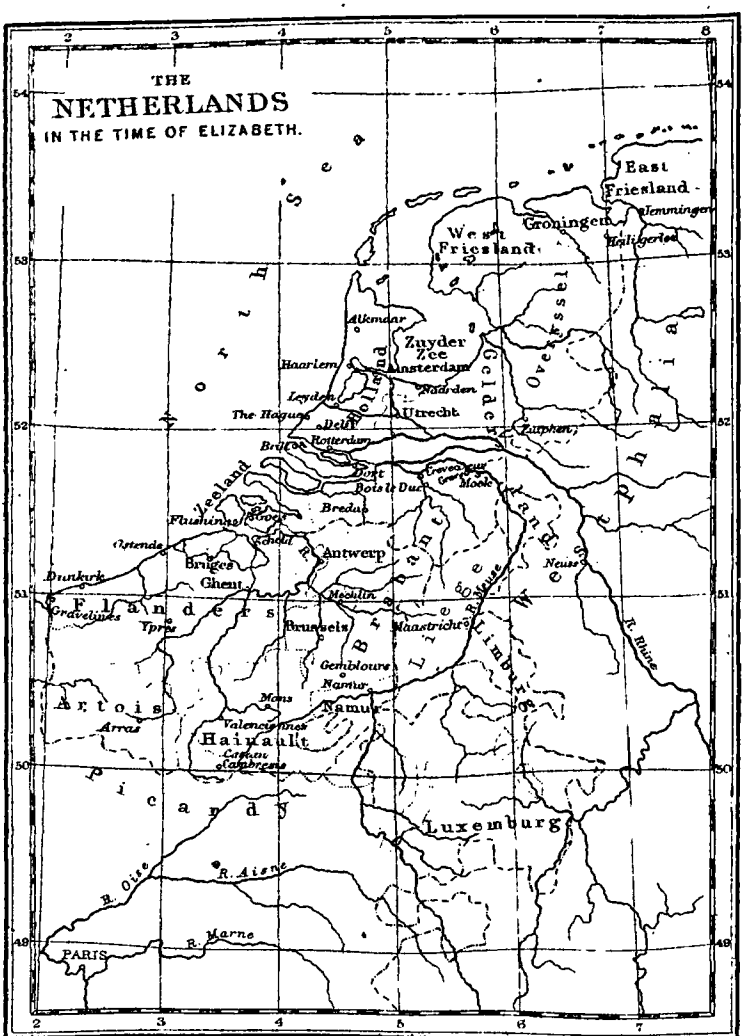
In this state of feeling it required very little to rouse the people to resistance. A sudden raid of a band of Netherlandish outlaws laid the foundation of the memorable revolt of the Netherlands.

Opposition of the Netherlanders.

Among those who had left the Netherlands rather than submit to Alva, many were accustomed to the sea. These now, seizing upon vessels, cruised as pirates in the Channel, professing to make war on Alva in the name of Orange. Hardy, brave, and cruel adventurers, they inflicted much damage on the Spanish ships, and found in England a ready market for their booty. Alva, in the beginning of 1572, remonstrated with Elizabeth on the shelter which she gave to these freebooters, who were at that time lying in some of the southern ports of England. Elizabeth, wishing to be conciliatory in a little matter, sent orders that the Netherland pirates were no longer to be supplied with provisions. Forced by hunger, the little fleet of twenty-four ships, under the command of a rude Flemish noble, William de la Marck, set sail from England for a foray. They were driven by stress of weather to enter the mouth of the Meuse, and came opposite the city of Brill. More in bravado than with any serious expectation of success, this handful of men, not more than 250, sent a message demanding the surrender of Brill. A panic seized the magistrates and citizens; they fled and left their fortified city to the 'water beggars,' who took possession of the city in the name of the Prince of Orange, stadtholder of the king.

Foundation of the United Netherlands.

The failure of an attempt to regain Brill for the Spaniards gave additional courage to the Netherlanders. Flushing was the first to expel its Spanish government. The example was followed by all the chief cities of Holland and Zeeland, and many of the cities of Gelderland, Ober-



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yssel, and Friesland. By the middle of 1572 a large portion of the Netherlands was in open revolt against Alva.

Meanwhile Count Louis of Nassau had been busy in France, where he enlisted the sympathies of the Huguenots, who sent out forces under Genlis to aid him in a bold scheme which he had formed, of surprising Mons, the chief city of Hainault. His surprise was successful, and Alva saw himself assailed on two sides. In the north the land was in rebellion; in the south a rising was being promoted by French help. When it was too late he abolished his tax of the tenth penny. The revolt had now taken shape. Representatives of the Estates of Holland met at Dort in July, and recognised the Prince of Orange as the king's lawful stadtholder in Holland, Zeeland, Friesland, and Utrecht. There was no talk of throwing off their allegiance to Philip II.; but against the despotic system of government introduced by Alva they set up their old constitution. The Prince of Orange had been appointed by Philip stadtholder of Holland in 1569; him they would follow in maintaining their lawful privileges against tyrannical governors. The revolt of the Netherlands was not directed against Philip's legitimate authority, but against the arbitrary use of his authority to introduce constitutional changes to which the Estates had never agreed.

French help to the Netherlands.

Alva's first step was to send his son, Don Frederic de Toledo, to besiege Mons, which could not be defended unless speedy reinforcements arrived. Genlis had hurried to France to raise fresh troops, but was defeated by Don Frederic outside Mons, and few of his reinforcements reached the city. Still Count Louis hoped for greater succours, and the fate of Mons depended on Coligny's influence over the French king.

CHAPTER V.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY.

COLIGNY had cast over Charles IX. the spell of his powerful mind, and the king inclined more and more to his view of war with Spain in the Netherlands. But the queen-mother was alarmed at Coligny's power; if he were to succeed, her influence over the king would be gone for ever. She made common cause with the Catholic party, resolved that at any cost Coligny's plans should fail. She joined with the widow of the murdered Francis, Duke of Guise, and the two women plotted Coligny's assassination. A gentleman attached to the house of Guise, Maurevert, shot at Coligny (August 22) as he was slowly entering his house engaged in reading a letter. The shot was fired from the window of a house opposite; it wounded Coligny in the arm, but the wounds were not dangerous. It was clear that an enquiry would be made into the attempted assassination.

Plot against Coligny.

Catharine was not a woman to shrink from carrying out a scheme she had undertaken. Coligny must be got rid of, and the king must be rescued once for all from his influence. His wounds gave him greater hold upon the king's sympathies. The Huguenots gathered round him demanding vengeance. They were prepared to go in a body to the king, and denounce the Duke of Guise as the assassin; they muttered threats of what they would do if they failed to obtain redress. Men's passions had grown fiercer. The populace of Paris prepared themselves to defend the Guises against an attack of the Huguenots.

The Huguenots stood sullenly opposed to the excited populace amongst whom they lived.

Coligny had striven for the reconciliation of the two parties; of this the marriage of Henry the young King of Navarre, with Margaret of Valois, the French king's sister (August 18) had been regarded as the pledge. The Prince of Navarre, after his father's death, had become the titular head of the Huguenot party. His marriage with Margaret was to bring the two parties together, and the Huguenots had streamed into Paris to be present at the festival, and make a demonstration of their power. The people of Paris had received them with silent threats. They themselves were fanatically Catholic, and saw with hatred Coligny enter the city and take his place at the royal council by the side of Henry of Anjou and Henry of Guise. The attempted assassination of Coligny awoke all the deepest passions of both parties. Catholics and Protestants alike began to gather apprehensively round their chiefs.

Paris and the Huguenots.

In this excited state of popular feeling Catharine and the Guises saw their safety. The king was perplexed at finding that his mother was privy to the attempt on Coligny's life. She repeated to him exaggerations of the wild words and threats uttered by the Huguenots. She showed him their armed bands in the streets, and asked if a royal army could be raised to meet them. She warned him that soon the royal power would pass entirely into the hands of Coligny. She stirred up the king's feeble mind to alarm, and then suggested to him the way out of the difficulty. All the chiefs of the Huguenots were in Paris, caught as in a net. It only needed a word from the king to arm the people of Paris against them, and rid himself of his enemies at one stroke.

Schemes of massacre.

The scheme was not premeditated, nor had the Huguenots been deliberately invited to the capital to be massacred. Perhaps old plans of a general massacre for the suppression of Protestantism, which had been suggested in former times by Philip II., recurred to Catharine's mind. But the plan in itself arose to her Italian brain as a possible means of extricating herself from her present difficulties. To rid himself of his enemies at one blow was a device sometimes adopted with success by an Italian tyrant in his small state. Catharine believed it possible in France. At first Charles IX. shrunk with horror from the proposal. Catharine reasoned in its favour as an act of policy, appealed to Charles's affection by declaring that her life was no longer safe in Paris, and at last taunted the feeble youth with want of courage. Charles was stung by his mother's taunt. He gave his assent to the plan, and when once his assent had been given he hurried on with feverish excitement.

Early in the morning of St. Bartholomew's Day, Sunday, August 24, the massacre began; it was known in after days by the bitter name of the 'Paris Matins.' The Duke of Guise himself superintended the murder of Coligny; the corpse was thrown out of the window into the courtyard where Guise stood. All the Huguenot chiefs, except only the two princes, Navarre and Condé, were put to death. On every side the bells rang; and the populace in the king's name stormed and robbed the houses of the Huguenots and murdered their masters, who were entirely taken by surprise. It was a night of horror. Private revenge and personal hatred ran riot under the protection of the royal authority; religious fanaticism sheltered itself under the name of patriotism. A terrible fury had seized the people. For years they had been

St. Bartholomew's Day, Aug. 24, 1572.

disturbed and disquieted by Huguenot rebellion; it needed but a few sharp hours of determined action, and these disturbers of their peace would be got rid of for ever.

The fury spread quickly from town to town. The royal orders were everywhere acted upon, and for days the massacre went on. It is difficult to estimate the number of victims; the calculations vary between 25,000 and 100,000 in the whole of the kingdom. In the excitement of the act, its terrible significance was not regarded by those concerned. The king rejoiced that at last he had acted decidedly and had become a king indeed. Catharine thought that she had freed herself from her enemies and had wrought a good deed for her country at the same time. The Catholic powers exulted over this victory of Catholicism. Gregory XIII., who had but lately become Pope, ordered a 'Te Deum' to be sung in honour of the event, and went in solemn procession to be present at the thanksgiving. Philip forgot his usual severity of manner, and laughed for joy. No doubt the atrocity of the deed was not known at first. It was believed that a plot of the Huguenots had been discovered, that their designs had been anticipated, and that they had met with the punishment that was their due. In England only was the moral bearing of the massacre at once perceived; a shudder went through the land at the thought that a king should arm one part of his people against another. The French ambassador was long refused an audience of the queen; and when at last he was admitted, he was received in solemn silence by the queen and court, who were all dressed in mourning.

Effects of the massacre.

In the Netherlands the events which we have been relating produced the most disastrous results. The patriots saw themselves cut off from any hope of French

help. Orange, who was advancing to the relief of Mons, was driven back into Holland, and Mons was compelled to surrender. The rebellion was crushed in the southern provinces; and the Spanish troops, by their atrocities, exacted a terrible revenge. Alva sent orders that every town which refused to admit a garrison should be besieged, and all its inhabitants be put to death. At Mechlin, Zutphen, and Naarden, these orders were almost literally carried out. Alva was consistent in his policy of crushing rebellion by the example of terrible severity.

Effects on the Netherlands.

But the men of Holland and Zeeland were not to be crushed without making an effort, and a struggle now began which has made the name of Holland memorable. It was a struggle conducted on both sides with desperate bravery and determined daring. Marvels of force and cruelty attract our attention as much as marvels of patriotism and self-devotion. The Spanish soldiers were unequalled in Europe; they were devoted to their leader and zealous for the Catholic cause; they fought with as much desperation and fury as did the burghers, whose only hope of life lay in their courage. The struggle which now began is marked by matchless deeds of valour on both sides.

An attempt on the part of the patriots to obtain possession of the town of Goes, in South Beveland, led to a wonderful exploit on the part of the Spaniards. South Beveland is an island lying off the mouth of the Scheld. It had once formed part of the mainland, but the sea in a heavy storm had dashed away the dykes, and now ran in a channel, ten miles broad at its narrowest part, between South Beveland and the shore of which it had once formed part. Goes was invested by the patriots, and the Spaniards were cut off by the fleet of the Zeelanders from sending reinforcements.

Siege of Goes.

Determined not to lose the town, they formed the bold undertaking of wading along a narrow causeway on the 'Drowned land,' as it was called. The water on this narrow causeway was four feet deep at low tide, and rose with the tide ten feet. It was a terrible hazard for the band of 3,000 men who undertook this journey of ten miles by night with the water reaching up to their shoulders. A few false steps and they would be lost; if they failed to accomplish their task in six hours, the rising tide would sweep them away. Yet such was the disciplined precision of the Spanish soldiers, that of the three thousand only nine were lost on the way. The rest reached Beveland in safety, and Goes was saved.

The siege of Haarlem is again famous for the desperate courage of the patriots. When summoned to admit a Spanish garrison, the men of Haarlem determined to resist. Their fortifications were weak; their garrison was only 4,000 men, while Don Frederic de Toledo led against them 30,000 veterans. Yet for seven months they kept the Spaniards at bay, and only yielded at last to famine. Three hundred women armed themselves and fought in a regular corps. Assaults upon the city were repelled by the determination of the citizens, who poured boiling oil and blazing pitch on their assailants. Women and children worked day and night to repair the breaches in the walls. When it was found hopeless to take the city by assault, the Spaniards tried to undermine the walls. The citizens made countermines, and sometimes the opposing parties would meet underground and engage in savage contest. But the valour of the men of Haarlem could not hold out against famine. On July 12, 1573, the city surrendered. Its garrison was butchered, and the city was left a heap of ruins. Alkmaar was next attacked; but the patriots resolved that the dykes should be broken down and the country

Siege of Haarlem.

round be swallowed up by the waters of the sea, rather than that Alkmaar should fall into the enemy's hands. The Spaniards, discovering this resolution, retired in dismay; they had come to fight against men, not against the ocean.

Thus, at the end of 1573, it was clear that Alva's severity, so far from having broken the spirit of the Netherlanders, had only stirred them up to the most stubborn resistance. For seven years Alva had tried his utmost; he was weary of his task, and Philip was convinced of the failure of his measures. He was consequently allowed to return to Spain, where soon after, on a slight pretext, he and his son were imprisoned; nor was Alva restored to favour till his military talents were required for an expedition against Portugal.

Alva retires from the Netherlands.

In the Netherlands a more pacific policy was adopted by Alva's successor, Don Luis de Requesens, who was governor for the next three years, 1573-6.

In France the result of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's had not been quite so decisive as the fanatics who had engaged in it had hoped. The moral horror of the deed dawned upon the minds of its actors. Charles IX. was haunted in his dreams by the terrible remembrance of that night; he sprung from his bed in terror; and to the excited minds of those around him the air seemed to be filled with groans and shrieks. Even in the camp, men thought they saw the dice thrown by Henry of Guise stain the table with a mark of blood.

Results of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day.

Moreover, the general policy of France had been contradicted by this massacre, and when men's feelings settled down, it was seen to have been a mistake. Spain was the leader of the Catholic world; and France could not hope to dispute that leadership with Spain. By the mas-

sacre France had lost her moderating position between the two parties. All dealings with the Netherlanders were broken off. The negotiations for the marriage of Elizabeth with the Duke of Anjou were stopped. The Huguenots still held out against the royal troops in their cities of Rochelle, Nismes, and Sancerre. It was in vain that these cities were besieged; they defended themselves with desperate heroism. Though many of the Huguenots had been massacred, and many had changed their religion through terror, still there remained too many to be put down by force. Moreover the Poles were thinking of the election of the Duke of Anjou to their throne; but if Anjou were to become king of Poland, he must declare himself willing to mediate between the two religious parties, and to allow religious freedom. For all these reasons the old policy of pacification again won the upper hand in France. In July 1573 free exercise of religion was granted to the towns of Rochelle, Montauban, Nismes, and Sancerre.

The Huguenots obtained peace for a while; and the discords at court soon strengthened their hands. The youngest brother of the king, the Duke of Alençon, openly opposed his mother. In the dissensions and quarrels that followed, a new party gradually gained ground. It was composed of men who for political reasons wished to maintain the edicts of toleration, and so to allow the fury of religious passions to settle for awhile. In this distracted state of things Charles IX. died, in May 1574. His brother hastened to leave his Polish kingdom, from which he fled secretly, as he was afraid the Poles might put hindrances in his way, and succeeded in France as Henry III.

Death of Charles IX.

The next few years are free from any decisive events in Europe generally. The first outburst of the great commotions which mark the reign of Elizabeth had subsided.

Summary.

Things had begun somewhat to find their level. At first all was doubtful and uncertain. The chief actors had to watch eagerly for indications which way fortune was likely to turn. It had seemed that the chances were greatly against Protestantism and Elizabeth. Elizabeth had never ventured to ally herself definitely with the Protestant cause. She had no rational hope that the Netherlands would give Philip so much trouble, or the Huguenots so long make head in France. Year by year Elizabeth's throne grew stronger. The failure of the rising in the north, and then of the Ridolfi plot, showed that she was firm upon her seat. England had been growing more united, more decided, more adventurous. A bold and eager national spirit had been growing up amongst the people. From the year 1572 to 1576 the country was quiet and secure. When again England came forward, it was no longer uncertain of its position or its destiny, but was prepared for a struggle with Spain which should determine the future of both countries, and should decide the fate of Protestantism in Europe.

BOOK IV.

HOME GOVERNMENT OF ELIZABETH.

CHAPTER I.

ELIZABETH AND HOME AFFAIRS.

THE events of the beginning of Elizabeth's reign succeeded one another in such quick succession, that in tracing them up to this point we have seen Elizabeth only as a politician. We have seen how, by a cautious though often tortuous policy, she had managed to preserve her own interests and those of England from foreign attack, and at the same time had fostered at home a feeling of national unity.

Elizabeth as a politician.

In the full light which has lately been thrown upon the events of this time, it is easy enough to find fault with Elizabeth's policy, to show how selfish and ungenerous it was, to upbraid her with indifference to the great interests of Protestantism in general. But it must be remembered that England, when Elizabeth ascended the throne, was not in a position to interfere decisively in the affairs of Europe. Its entire population barely reached five millions. The queen's revenues amounted to no more than 500,000*l.* a year. The treasury was in

debt; the coinage was debased. Commerce was languishing; the people were poor; there was a danger that religious difficulties would cause a civil war. It is scarcely reasonable to demand from Elizabeth a bold policy under such circumstances. She was compelled to husband the country's resources, to avoid war, to play off her enemies against one another. She learnt an economy which soon became habitual to her and degenerated into stinginess. She took care to get from all around her as much as she could in the way of presents, and to make the scantiest returns. She sold her help to the Huguenots and to the Netherlanders at the highest rate she could. When Leicester died, the man for whom she felt as much affection as she was capable of, she dried her tears, and ordered that his goods should be seized in payment of money she had lent him.

Her economy.

So, too, she learned to gain her ends by swagger, by threats, by underhand means, by subterfuges, by bare-faced lies if these were convenient. It may be allowed that a cautious policy was necessary for Elizabeth; but no excuse can be urged for her unblushing deceit. She took to diplomacy with a woman's thoroughness and a woman's wilfulness. Acting with perfect seriousness, she often by her falseness produced a ridiculous caricature. She told lies that deceived no one. In both her letters and speeches she wrapped up her meaning in ambiguous phrases and complicated sentences, which it was impossible to understand with any precision. She gave orders in such a way that she might disavow them if she pleased. She liked her ministers to act without definite orders, sometimes on their own responsibility, and then to bear the consequences if the scheme failed.

Her deceitfulness.

She was averse to war, partly because it cost money,

with which she grieved to part; partly because war broke off the opportunities for diplomacy in which she thought that she excelled. But her motive was very greatly a generous feeling for her people, and a true instinct for the national wants. 'No war, my lords,' she would often exclaim at the council, striking the table with her fist, 'no war;' and this resolve of hers often checked the great schemes of her more aspiring ministers, and enabled England to grow into its necessary strength. She felt no sympathy for the Netherlanders in their struggle with Philip; their misery in no way appealed to her generosity. She drew out of their misfortunes all the commercial advantages she could to England. She only sent them aid when she was afraid they would cease to resist, and so make Philip too powerful. She never expected for a moment that they would make good their position as against Philip. She advised them to make peace with Philip, and could not understand their persistence about religious freedom; nor did she approve of subjects refusing to obey their prince in such matters. She was even ready to help Philip against them if she could gain thereby an advantageous settlement of England's difficulties with Spain.

Her love of peace.

Elizabeth was indeed incapable of generous sympathy with a revolt against religious persecution; for she was not herself a woman of deep religious convictions. She was a Protestant chiefly because it was impossible for the daughter of Anne Boleyn to take her place in Europe as a Catholic sovereign. But though she was a Protestant she hated Puritanism, because she felt that the utterances of such a man as John Knox were widely opposed to her own ideas of a sovereign's position and power. She wished to see a religious system prevail which should rob Catholicism and Puritanism alike of their fanaticism, yet should be a genuine expression of

Her religious views.

the religious feeling of the people at large. She was annoyed at any attempts to alter the established ceremonies in either of the extreme directions, and was always ready to administer a corrective. When Puritanism seemed to be growing too strong, she set up a crucifix in her chapel and lit the candles upon the altar. When the Dean of St. Paul's thought to please her by putting on her cushion a richly illuminated Prayer Book, she frowned and put it from her, and scolded the dean soundly when service was over.

It was, however, very difficult for her to maintain the moderate character which she desired to give to the Established Church. The clergy, who almost all retained their benefices in spite of the religious changes made at Elizabeth's accession, were, as a body, inclined to the old religion. The most high-minded amongst them had resigned their benefices rather than submit; those who remained were the least zealous. The lower clergy did not number many men of education; the country parishes were even sometimes handed over to the care of one who had been the squire's butler, or who deserved a pension from him for some service. It was difficult with such men as these to establish the new rites on an orderly footing; and the queen was often angered by the news of some disorders. The marriage of the clergy especially, being a shock at first to the current popular sentiment on the subject, gave rise to many scandals. The clergy married unfit wives, and were not scrupulous how they provided for them. The church vestments and other possessions were sometimes seen turned into ornaments for the clergymen's wives. This was especially a scandal in the case of cathedral chapters which had been under monastic discipline. The queen forbade any member of a college or cathedral to have his wife living within the precincts. She disliked the

Condition of the English Church.

marriage of the clergy, and refused to rescind the law prohibiting it which had been passed in Mary's reign. The marriage of the clergy was connived at, but not legalised; and when the queen paid a visit to Archbishop Parker she took leave of Mrs. Parker, saying, 'Madam I may not call you; mistress I am loth to call you; but I thank you for your cheer.'

The ecclesiastical difficulties of Elizabeth's position made themselves more and more distinctly felt as her reign went on. At first the idea of separating from the national Church was not one which suggested itself. Though the Catholics objected to Elizabeth's changes, they did not at first withdraw themselves entirely from the Church services. But as the conflict between the two religions became more definite, no further concessions could be made on either side. The Catholics, though they might not be openly disloyal, were still suspected of desiring the accession of Mary of Scotland; and after the bull of Pope Pius V. against Elizabeth, and the Ridolfi plot, the laws against Catholicism were made more severe, and were more rigorously carried out.

Persecution of the Catholics.

Even as against Catholicism, Protestantism in England did not present an undivided front. The Puritan party submitted as little as did the Catholics to the ecclesiastical observances which had been established. They objected that much remained which savoured of superstition. They tried to assert their right to disobedience. But irregularities in the conduct of the Church services seemed to the queen to be intolerable. Conformity in the use of the surplice was required by Archbishop Parker, and those clergymen who refused to comply were suspended from their livings. They soon began to form conventicles, which were suppressed by law (1567). The Puritans, in opposition to the law,

The Puritans.

began to form themselves into the sects of Protestant Dissenters in England.

The great questions of the sixteenth and seventeenth century were religious questions. The difficulty was how to maintain the old political system, when the old ecclesiastical system, which had been so closely connected with it, was overthrown. The reign of Elizabeth shows us how the old system, now everywhere conscious of its danger, was making efforts to reassert its ascendancy. These efforts were repelled at first by the care and caution, afterwards by the vigour and energy, of England. But when England had made good its own position against foes outside, there remained for Elizabeth's successors the adjustment of the limits between the old political system, as yet but slightly modified, and the new ecclesiastical ideas. This adjustment was hard to make, when the idea of tolerance was equally far from all contending parties. Elizabeth ought not to be too severely found fault with as a persecutor, if, at a time when the nation was going through a fierce struggle for its existence, she demanded a definite basis of unity. The state adapted the old ecclesiastical system, with the fewest possible changes, to the new ecclesiastical ideas, and demanded after this measure of reform the same unconditional obedience as before. Those who were content with the old state of things, and those who wished for further change, were both of them to be reduced to a common measure. The change that had passed over England was not to cause division. She must still offer to her enemies, at a time when ecclesiastical matters were the chief matters of politics, an undivided front. On the one hand there was to be no breach with the old system of European politics; on the other hand there was to be freedom from all that was most degrading and weakening in the old state of things.

Condition of ecclesiastical questions.

These were the views of Elizabeth and her advisers; but they did not and could not know the strength of the forces against which they were contending. Not till after the struggles of more than two centuries was it seen that there are in man convictions too strong to be curbed by motives of political expediency.

Elizabeth's ecclesiastical system was not a permanent solution of the questions raised by the Reformation. She would neither broaden the basis of the Established Church, nor would she allow the formation of independent sects outside it. She left to her successors the task of solving the difficulties which this policy had wrought. For herself she was determined to keep the clergy in order by means of the bishops. Grindal, who succeeded Parker as Archbishop of Canterbury (1575), found to his cost that the royal supremacy was not a mere empty name. The queen was alarmed at the growth of a custom of clerical meetings, 'prophesyings,' as they were called. These meetings were meant for discussion, and for practice in readiness of speech, that the clergy might be trained to preaching. The queen, however, did not approve of preaching—to read the Homilies was enough. She did not like clerical discussions in the existing condition of religious opinion. She ordered the bishops to put down these prophesyings When Archbishop Grindal refused to interfere he was suspended from his office, and for five years was not allowed to exercise his functions.

Elizabeth and the bishops.

Nor did the queen in other matters show to her bishops the respect which she demanded for them from others. She would keep bishoprics vacant, and appropriate their revenues to her own purposes; often she would detach a manor from their possessions in the interest of a favourite. When the Bishop of Ely showed some reluctance to abandon to Sir Christopher Hatton

the gardens of Ely House, the queen wrote him a peremptory letter—'Proud prelate, I understand that you are backward in complying with your agreement; but I would have you know that I who made you what you are can unmake you; and if you do not forthwith fulfil your engagement I will immediately unfrock you. Yours, as you demean yourself—ELIZABETH.' On another occasion, when the Bishop of London preached before the queen a sermon on the vanity of dress, the queen told her ladies 'if the bishop held more discourse on such matters she would soon fit him for heaven; but he should walk thither without a staff and leave his mantle behind him.'

English commerce.

Elizabeth, however, acted wisely in the measures which she took for the restoration of commerce and prosperity within her country. The reign of Elizabeth is the epoch from which dates the naval and commercial greatness of England, and the queen's care and attention contributed in no slight degree to this result. One of the earliest measures of her reign was the restoration of the coinage, which had been so debased by her predecessors that it was worth only one-third of its nominal value. To call in the debased coinage and melt it down, and to issue a new coinage whose worth should correspond to its intrinsic value, was no easy task for an impoverished exchequer. Yet it was accomplished without causing much hardship, and when it had been done, English merchants could again carry on their business with foreign countries.

The most important branch of English commerce had always been the woollen trade with Flanders. English cloth was exported to the Flemish marts, and there sold to merchants from the rest of Europe. Twice every year the Company of Merchant Adventurers fitted out a fleet of fifty or sixty ships to convey their goods to the

Netherlands. It is computed that about 100,000 pieces of cloth were shipped thither annually.

In 1553 a number of merchants and nobles equipped three ships to explore a northern passage to India. Two of them were lost in the ice; but the third, commanded by Richard Chancellor, made its way to Archangel, and laid the foundation of the trade with Russia. In 1557 came an ambassador from the Emperor of Muscovy. The Merchant Adventurers rode forth to meet him in procession, dressed in velvet, with chains of gold around their necks, that they might impress the Muscovite with their wealth, and so make his countrymen desirous of trading with them.

The increasing importance of English commerce was shown in 1560 by the building of the Royal Exchange. Sir Thomas Gresham, a wealthy merchant who had lived long in Flanders, contrasted the splendour of the Flemish traders with the discomfort of London, where all business had to be done by merchants standing, in all weathers, on the narrow pavement of Lombard Street. He accordingly erected a brick building, with a quadrangle inside, round which, on the ground floor was an arched colonnade supported on marble pillars, where the merchants might walk. Below were vaults for merchandize, and on the first floor were shops, from the rent of which Gresham hoped to reimburse himself. The Exchange was visited in state by Elizabeth, who was so pleased with it that 'she caused it by an herald and a trumpet to be proclaimed the Royal Exchange, and so to be called from thenceforth, and not otherwise.'

The Royal Exchange.

Commerce, however, is not a thing which it lies in the power of princes to develop by patronage, though they may help it by their general policy. Elizabeth managed to keep England in peace when the rest of Europe was involved in war. Moreover her rule was economical, and the taxes were not

Spread of English commerce.

oppressive. England under her was relieved from its public debt, and its capital found occupation in trade at a time when the commerce of the Netherlands was checked by internal disturbances.

A spirit of naval adventure took deep root among all classes, and may be seen especially in the voyages of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Martin Frobisher in quest of a north-west passage to the fabulous region of Cathay. The perils of the Arctic regions were experienced first by English seamen, and the line of investigation then opened out has ever remained peculiar to English enterprise.

CHAPTER II.

ELIZABETH; HER COURT AND MINISTERS.

THE wisdom of Elizabeth was shown in nothing so strongly as in her sagacity in the choice of ministers and her power of using men for her own purposes.

Lord Burleigh.

The name most closely connected with Elizabeth's government is that of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh. First as secretary, afterwards as lord-treasurer, he was a member of the council, and always exercised the chief influence on the affairs of state. In those days the sovereign was his own prime minister, and his confidential advisers were chosen at his own will. Throughout the whole of Elizabeth's reign Burleigh continued to be her chief minister. His advice was not always followed by the queen, and he had many opponents who never ceased to intrigue against him; but he was the man who did most in moulding England's policy, and he retained the queen's favour till his death.

William Cecil was born in 1520, and began a political career under Henry VIII. Under Edward VI. he

was made secretary through the patronage of the Duke of Somerset. He lost his place when his patron fell, but regained court favour by drawing the articles of impeachment against him. He was restored to office in 1550, and contrived to keep himself so far free from any connexion with Northumberland's plot that he received from Mary a general pardon. He lost his office as secretary, but lived in peace and conformed to the Catholic religion. He attached himself secretly and cautiously to the Princess Elizabeth, and gave her wise counsels to help her in the difficult position in which she was placed. When Elizabeth came to the throne, she at once marked her sense of Cecil's merit by appointing him a member of her council. 'This judgment,' she said to him, 'I have of you: that you will not be corrupted with any gift, and that you will be faithful to the state; and that, without respect of my private will, you will give me that counsel that you think best.'

Cecil was not heroic, nor had he any elevation of character; but his wary, cautious, compromising, sensible character commanded Elizabeth's admiration, because it coincided so well with her own. Elizabeth was partly conscious that her own caprices, or alarms, or fancies occasionally impelled her to acts of folly against her better judgment. Cecil's calm and deliberate wisdom seemed to her to be the expression of her own higher self. She treated him often as men treat their conscience when it reminds them of unpleasant truths. She browbeat him, and abused him, and contradicted him; she overwhelmed him with reproaches, so that he often left her presence in tears. But she always thought over his advice, and often, after a struggle, allowed it to prevail over her own inclinations. She did not entirely adopt Burleigh's policy, which was in favour of open opposition to Spain and earnest support to the Protestant cause in

Europe. Elizabeth was more cautious in this than her cautious minister. She never forgot that her counsellors were, after all, the heads of parties, with their own interests to serve, while to her belonged the care of the interests of her kingdom as a whole. It could not be but that Burleigh should wish to separate England from the Catholic powers, and make the succession of Mary of Scotland impossible; for Mary's accession would certainly mean his own ruin. Elizabeth was not so clear about the question of the succession; and she knew that the fear of Mary was the strongest bond to attach her ministers loyally to herself.

Sir Nicolas Bacon.

Cecil's chief ally was his friend and brother-in-law, Sir Nicolas Bacon, the lord keeper, who by his second wife was father of the illustrious Francis Bacon. More serious and thoughtful than Cecil, he contributed steadfastness and dignity to his friend's shifty policy. 'He was a plain man,' says his son Francis; 'direct and constant, without all finesse and doubleness, and one that was of a mind that a man should rest upon the soundness and strength of his own courses, and not upon practice to circumvent others.' His motto, 'Mediocria firma,' showed his sound common sense. When Elizabeth once remarked that his house was too small for him, 'No, madam,' he answered, 'but you have made me too big for my house.' He was a man of literary tastes and of refined mind. In the garden of his house at Gorhambury was built a room dedicated to the Seven Sciences; its walls were adorned with an allegorical figure of each science, surrounded by portraits of her most eminent followers.

Elizabeth's favourites.

We may take Cecil and Bacon as the chief representatives of the statesmen who clustered round Elizabeth, and were recommended to their mistress by their wisdom and ability. But Elizabeth's political advisers found their difficulties greatly increased

by the power of favourites who were merely courtiers, and owed their influence with the queen to their personal qualities rather than their political wisdom. Elizabeth was fond of magnificence and display. She never appeared in public without a splendid band of followers. Her body of 'gentlemen pensioners' contained all the young men of the noblest families in England. Sir John Holles says that he did not know among the number a worse man than himself; and he was possessor of an estate worth 4,000*l.* a year. The nobles of England flocked to Elizabeth's court, and were proud to be in attendance upon her. Besides her love of display, she was also glad to strengthen her own position by the personal tie which thus grew up between the nobility and herself.

Thus her courtiers necessarily had great influence with the queen; and her favourites from time to time had great political power. The fact that the queen was unmarried tinged all their relations towards her with a dash of gallantry. There was in those days no conventional bar to the marriage of an English queen and an English noble. The leading favourite approached Elizabeth with a mixture of a lover's familiarity and a subject's obedience. Elizabeth's personal feelings were strong. From political motives she refused to marry; but she keenly felt the loneliness of her position and never ceased to long for intense personal attachment. She demanded of her favourites that they should devote themselves to her, as she had devoted herself to her conception of England's interest. Their marriages she regarded as so many insults to herself. Giving her affections as a woman she imposed restrictions as a queen, and was continually discovering, with grief and anger, that her favourites only behaved as lovers in her presence, and gave to her as queen the devotion which she longed for as a woman.

The first of these favourites, who occupied the chief

place in the queen's affections until his death in 1588, was Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. He was the son of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and is said to have been born on the same day and the same hour as Elizabeth. Recommended by his fine personal appearance and elegant manners, he rose at once in her favour. He was bold, ambitious, and intriguing; but his policy was directed only by self-interest, and the queen's partiality for him gave a weight to his counsels which they did not deserve. He was the great opponent of Cecil; for he regarded Cecil as an obstacle to his entire power over the queen. It is certain that Elizabeth would gladly have married him, if she could have done so with prudence or even with safety. Leicester put himself at the head of the Puritan party, mainly as a means of political power against Cecil. He was a man destitute of religious principles, and a notorious profligate. He was unpopular, owing to his arrogance, and the blackest stories were told and believed against him. He was popularly believed to have rid himself of his first wife, Amy Robsart, at the time when there was most probability of his marriage with the queen. In a book called 'Leicester's Commonwealth,' supposed to have been written by the Jesuit Parsons, he is accused of every kind of murder and assassination. Certainly many of his enemies died most opportunely for his plans. So great was his influence with the queen that she forgave him even his second marriage with the Countess of Essex in 1578. In her rage she at first threatened to imprison him in the Tower, and was with difficulty restrained from making this public display of her feelings. Yet he had become so necessary to her that he was soon restored to her favour.

The Earl of Leicester.

Still Leicester's power was by no means unlimited. The queen's proud spirit could not brook the idea of dependence

on any man. When it came to the point, Elizabeth would be roused and act for herself. One day an usher refused admittance to the queen's presence to a follower of Leicester's who had no privilege of admission. Leicester threatened the usher with dismissal; whereupon the man stepped before him, and kneeling before the queen told her the story, and asked whether Leicester were king, or her majesty queen. 'My lord,' she exclaimed, 'I have wished you well, but my favour is not so locked up for you that others shall not partake thereof; for I have many servants, to whom I have, and will at my pleasure, bequeath my favour, and likewise resume the same; and if you think to rule here, I will take a course to see you forthcoming. I will have here but one mistress and no master.' 'These words,' adds Naunton, 'so quelled my Lord of Leicester, that his feigned humility was long after one of his best virtues.'

Leicester was not the only courtier who owed his position solely to the royal favour. Christopher Hatton, a young student of the Inns of Court, attracted the queen's attention by his elegant dancing at a masque. He left the study of law and became a courtier. In due time he was rewarded by no less an office than that of lord chancellor. The lawyers were disgusted; but Hatton was a prudent and an upright man. He used the assistance of learned assessors in the discharge of his legal duties, and filled his high office with credit. He was the only one of the queen's favourites who died unmarried: but the queen's conduct to him was capricious; she became tired of him, and he is said to have died of chagrin.

Sir Christopher Hatton.

Thus Elizabeth's court was a scene of wild adventure. Every young man who could gain admission there might hope to win the queen's attention and secure his own fortunes. Every kind of merit might

Elizabeth's court.

hope for recognition from a sovereign who could equally appreciate literature, bravery, and elegant accomplishments. The queen's favour, however, had not only to be won, but also to be maintained against all rivals. The adventurous spirit which animated English sailors to perilous voyages in the New World, found occupation at home in more nimble feats of dexterity, in climbing the steep ascent to royal favour and defending the passes to that perilous height. Spenser describes the courtier's position with vigorous bitterness of feeling:

> Full little knowest thou, that hast not tride,
> What hell it is in suing long to bide:
> To lose good days, that might be better spent;
> To waste long nights in pensive discontent;
> To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow;
> To feed on hope, to pine with feare and sorrow;
> To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares;
> To eate thy heart through comfortlesse dispaires:
> To fawne, to crouche, to waite, to ride, to ronne,
> To spend, to give, to want, to be undonne.

Elizabeth was fond of making magnificent public appearances, surrounded by the ladies and gentlemen of her court in their most splendid attire. Sometimes she went on horseback, sometimes borne in a litter on the shoulders of her chiefest nobles. But most often did she go along the only broad highway of London, the royal barge with its rich drapery heading a long procession of attendant boats on the Thames. Sometimes she went with curious pomp, 'a thousand men in harness with shirts of mail and corselets and morice-pikes, and ten great pieces carried through the city, with drums and trumpets sounding, and two morrice dancings, and in a cart two white bears.'

Elizabeth's magnificence.

Elizabeth thoroughly enjoyed the pleasures of royalty, and realised them to the full in her royal progresses.

During her reign she visited, from time to time, her nobles and the chief cities of her realm. Everywhere her presence was a cause for entertainments and rejoicings. Everywhere she could enjoy the gratification of her vanity in the applause which her affability won or in the admiration which her dignity inspired. Moreover her thrifty mind enjoyed magnificence doubly when she had not to pay for it. A courtier in disgrace knew that there was no better way back to favour than to solicit the costly honour of a royal visit; and Elizabeth was always ready to receive a present from the faithful burgesses whose city she condescended to visit. Sometimes her greed overcame her decorum. When she visited Norwich, the Mayor, after a tedious Latin oration, handed her a silver cup full of gold pieces, saying, 'Sunt hic centum libræ puri auri' (here are a hundred pounds of pure gold). The queen eagerly took off the cover and looked inside; then with a pleased face handed it to one of her servants, saying, 'Look to it; there is a hundred pound.' Royal progresses.

We possess full accounts of many of these royal entertainments, from which much is to be learned about the taste and manners of the time. Most notable amongst them are the 'princely pleasures of Kenilworth,' where in 1575 the Earl of Leicester entertained the queen for nearly three weeks with a daily succession of shows and banquets. The queen was met some distance off by her host, with a brilliant cavalcade. On nearing the castle a giant porter, armed with a club, refused admittance to all till he saw the queen, when throwing away his club he prostrated himself at her feet and gave up to her his keys. As she entered the castle a floating island on the moat approached the bridge over which she was passing, and a lady who had been in captivity since the days of King Arthur commemorated Elizabeth at Kenilworth.

in a long poem her happy deliverance through the terror of Elizabeth's name. The bridge itself was ornamented with posts, on each of which were seen the offerings to one of the heathen gods. Birds, fishes, fruits, musical instruments, and armour, all were hung in their order as symbolical gifts to the queen. When the bridge was passed, at the entrance of the inner court a poet appeared, who recited a long Latin poem, explaining to the queen the meaning of all that she had seen. This reception may serve as a sample of the varied amusements which filled up the rest of the queen's visit. Every day had its own entertainment. Now there was a water party, when Arion on his dolphin drew near and sung the praises of the queen, accompanied by an entire orchestra who were stowed away inside the monstrous fish. Now there was a ride in the woods, where 'Ombre Selvaggio,' the wild man of the woods, overcome by the queen's dignity and grace, vowed henceforth to lay aside his savagery and live in her service. Echo too, in answer to appropriate questions, expressed her delight at Elizabeth's presence. Some days were given up to the chase, to hawking, and to bearbaiting. There were fireworks and tumbling feats when other amusements flagged. Nor were the sports of the common people disregarded. One day the queen was entertained by a band of rustics who represented a country wedding, and afterwards displayed their skill in tilting at the quintain. Another day the men of Coventry fought their mimic tournament, according to a yearly custom, in commemoration of a great victory over the Danes.

Nor did the burgesses of the towns which Elizabeth visited fall short of the nobles in the honours which they paid her. At Norwich, Mercury, attired in blue satin lined with cloth of gold, with wings on his hat and on his heels, descended from a magnificent

Elizabeth at Norwich.

carriage at the queen's door, and invited her to go and see the revels. There was an elaborate masque representing Venus and Cupid, Wantonness and Riot, who, after many gambols, were put to flight by Chastity and her train.

The queen's visits to the two Universities were also very characteristic. At Cambridge the Public Orator, on his knees, for more than half-an-hour commemorated the queen's virtues. At first she counterfeited indignation, shook her head and bit her fingers, exclaiming, 'Non est veritas, et utinam——' (It is not the truth; I would that it were). When he praised virginity, she called out, 'God's blessing of thy heart, there continue.' On Sunday, she heard a Latin sermon in the morning, and in the evening saw a representation of the Aululария of Plautus in the University church. As yet the wave of Puritanism had not swept over England and stamped a rigid Sabbatarianism on the popular mind. She visited all the colleges in turn, hearing at each a Latin oration, and receiving, amongst other presents, a splendidly bound volume full of Latin and Greek verses composed in her honour. She was besought to address the University in Latin; and after a great show of reluctance, with many expressions of diffidence and pleadings of her want of preparation, she delivered an elaborately prepared and turgid Latin speech, in which she held out hopes of imitating her predecessors by founding some new building in the University. Perhaps her promise deceived no one; Elizabeth's thrift prevented her from leaving any architectural monument of her taste or munificence.

Elizabeth at Cambridge.

At Oxford there was a similar tedious flow of orations; and brains were racked to patch together a still larger collection of copies of verses than had been made at Cambridge. The queen was so far advanced in erudition that, after another show of bash-

Elizabeth at Oxford.

fulness, she addressed the University in Greek. Better far than her speeches was her ready remark to the vice-chancellor, Dr. Humphreys, a distinguished Puritan who opposed the views of the queen and Archbishop Parker. When he advanced in cap and gown at the head of an academic procession, the queen, as she gave him her hand, said with a smile, 'That loose gown, Doctor, becomes you mighty well: I wonder your notions should be so narrow.' It was by sayings such as these that the queen won the hearts of the people, who can always appreciate keen homely wit and readiness of speech.

BOOK V.

CONFLICT OF CATHOLICISM AND PROTESTANTISM, 1576–86.

CHAPTER I.

STRUGGLE IN THE NETHERLANDS, 1576-83.

WE must return from these peaceful progresses of Elizabeth to the dangers which still surrounded her. In a sonnet she expresses her feelings :

> The doubt of future foes exiles my present joy,
> And wit me warns to shun such snares as threaten mine annoy.

There was still in England—

> 'The Daughter of Debate that eke discord doth sow.'

So long as Mary of Scotland lived, Elizabeth could not be free from fear.

The danger that next threatened her was from the side of the Netherlands. Requesens did not long carry on his policy of pacification, as he died early in 1576. Before a successor arrived, the Spanish troops in the Netherlands mutinied to recover their arrears of pay. Philip II. was so impoverished by his many undertakings that he could not supply the

The 'Spanish Fury.'

Netherland troops with money. They were determined to take matters into their own hands. They organised themselves under officers of their own appointment, and seized upon the wealthy city of Antwerp. The 'Spanish Fury,' as this attack was called, ruined the most flourishing commercial city of Europe. Many of its citizens were massacred; its wealth was carried off and its merchants dispersed. The indignation caused by this butchery and pillage did much to bind together the Netherland States, of which two only were Protestant, while fifteen remained Catholic. By the Pacification of Ghent (November 8, 1576), all the seventeen States bound themselves to expel the Spaniards, and agreed to sink religious differences for that purpose.

Meanwhile the new governor of the Netherlands was hastening thither to realise great plans for his own future.

Don John of Austria.

Don John of Austria, the natural brother of Philip II., was now in his thirty-second year, and was the most renowned general in Europe. His victory at Lepanto had filled his mind with ambitious dreams. He had made his brother an offer of conquering the Moors in Tunis, if he might be allowed to rule that country as king. The Pope supported him in his request; but Philip, who was conscious of his own want of military capacity or gifts to win popularity, was alarmed at the prospect of a rival. He sent his brother to the Netherlands to keep him out of the way. But Don John went there with a still more brilliant scheme, for which likewise he had obtained the papal sanction. He was resolved to pacify the Netherlands rapidly, and then with his Spanish troops cross over to England, put himself at the head of the Catholics, liberate and marry Mary, and rule as king. This plan did not long escape Philip's vigilance. He was doubly alarmed, but could take no open step against it. It was lucky for Elizabeth that Don John had not arrived

earlier. The Pacification of Ghent had already been formed, and gave the Netherlands a solid basis of resistance which might withstand delusive promises of redress.

Don John had with difficulty obtained Philip's consent to his attack on England, on the condition that it was made with Spanish soldiers only. His first object therefore was to quiet the Netherlands and draw off the Spanish troops to England. Negotiations were at once begun; and the Netherland Estates demanded the ratification of the Pacification of Ghent, the maintenance of their old customs and charters, and the immediate withdrawal of the Spanish troops. On this last point Don John laboured to have a delay of three months, and provision for their removal by sea. The States, however, were obstinate in demanding their immediate withdrawal by land. It was in vain that Don John urged every plea he could invent for the delay. The Netherlanders had made up their minds, and he was at last compelled to yield the point. He saw with despair his hopes destroyed for the present. All unconsciously the Netherlanders had saved England from a great danger, and had freed Philip from anxious alarm. Philip was rejoiced to see his brother's ambitious schemes disappointed, and was determined to let his haughty spirit wear itself out in the hopeless task of reducing the Netherlands without an army.

Don John's projects.

The demands of the Netherlanders were agreed to by the Perpetual Edict, February 17, 1577. The Spanish troops were withdrawn, and Don John was left to face the difficulties of his position. His restless mind could not adapt itself to carry out a gentle and yielding policy. He was naturally looked upon with suspicion by the people. He had neither patience nor forbearance for the task imposed upon him. Moreover Philip

Failure of Don John.

was bent upon his destruction. A plot was laid by Philip's secretary of state, Antonio Perez, to draw treasonable expressions from Don John. Feigning to be his friend, he wrote to him, and showed all his answers to the king. Don John's secretary, Escovedo, was sent to Madrid, where he was assassinated by the orders of Perez with Philip's connivance. Don John felt that he was surrounded by an atmosphere of suspicion, and that he stood single-handed. He knew that his great schemes were hopeless, that he would be refused the necessary means for governing the Netherlands and would be kept there till he had undone his previous reputation.

The peace which had been agreed upon did not long continue. Misunderstandings arose between the Estates and Don John, and in October 1577 war was again declared. But the political issues of the struggle between Spain and the Netherlands had now broadened. The foremost man amongst the Netherlanders was the Prince of Orange. He had been the leading spirit in the contest against Philip. As being a Protestant, however, he was disliked by the Catholic nobles, who accordingly invited the Archduke Matthias of Austria to put himself at their head. Matthias was the brother of the Emperor Rudolf; but he brought neither wisdom nor money to aid a feeble cause. Moreover there were hopes of help from France. The brother of King Henry III., the Duke of Alençon, or Duke of Anjou as he became on his brother's accession, put himself at the head of the party of Politicians and advocated the old policy of hostility against Spain. He occupied an almost independent position in France, and many of the Netherland nobles looked to him for help. The prospect of this roused Elizabeth to take more decided steps; that the Netherlands should become French would be as dangerous to England as that they should become Spanish. Elizabeth made a treaty of

alliance with the Netherlands, lending them money and supplying them with troops.

The Netherlanders, however, could do nothing in the field against disciplined Spanish soldiers. In January 1578 they were defeated with great loss by Don John at Gemblours. But it was his last exploit. Worn out by despondency he fell a victim to a pestilence raging in his army, and died on October 1, 1578, at the age of thirty-two, leaving a last request that his body might be buried in the Escurial, by the side of his imperial father.

Don John was succeeded in the Netherlands by Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, son of Margaret, Duchess of Parma, who had been regent when the troubles in the Netherlands first broke out. He soon proved himself to be admirably fitted for the task he had undertaken. He was the first commander in Europe, uniting bravery with coolness and decision. He could plan a campaign as well as win a battle, and in the art of besieging cities he was without a rival. Besides his military talents he had great powers of governing; his manner was conciliatory, he was just and patient, and was resolutely fixed on carrying out by every means the end he had set before himself. He was moreover a keen politician, who delighted in spinning or unravelling with cautious prudence the web of diplomatic intrigue. It was not long before the results of his presence were felt in the Netherlands. He managed to take advantage of the differences between the Catholic and Protestant states. The Walloon provinces of the south, which were all Catholic, entered into a separate union. William of Orange, by the Union of Utrecht, combined the seven provinces of Gelderland, Oberyssel, Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Groningen, and Friesland, to defend themselves against Spain and maintain their religious liberties. This 'Union of Utrecht' was the foundation of the Netherland

Alexander Farnese.

Republic. These seven provinces held together under the guidance of the Prince of Orange; the other ten provinces gradually fell back into the hands of Spain, though on tolerably advantageous terms, as there were no religious difficulties in the way.

In face of this state of things William of Orange and the 'nearer united provinces,' as they were called, found it necessary to take decided steps for their own preservation. In the early part of the year 1580 the war languished in the Netherlands; for Philip's attention was turned to Portugal, the vacant crown of which he claimed through his mother, a daughter of King Manuel. He was opposed by the Duke of Braganza, and also by a natural son of the royal house, Don Antonio. But Philip's power carried all before it. Alva advanced into Portugal, and in fifty-eight days had expelled Don Antonio and reduced the country under Philip. The conquest of Portugal was finished before any of the other powers of Europe had time to interfere. This accession to Philip's power increased his determination to reduce the Netherlands, and filled the Netherlanders with dismay. But it also awoke the jealousy of France and England, and made open resistance to Spain more necessary. The European conflict, which for a few years had seemed to be lulled, awoke with greater intensity than before.

Philip's conquest of Portugal.

Philip II. and his advisers were convinced that the Prince of Orange was the great obstacle to the reconquest of the Netherlands. In March 1580 Philip published a solemn ban, in which he recounted all the crimes of William of Orange, and exposed him 'as an enemy of the human race.' Anyone who delivered him up, alive or dead, was to receive twenty-five thousand crowns of gold, and to be ennobled for his valour. To this William replied in a famous

Philip's ban against the Prince of Orange.

'Apology,' in which he denounced unsparingly the misdeeds of Philip, and in the noblest tones asserted the lawfulness of his own patriotic endeavours. But it was necessary for him to prepare for a long conflict, and to strengthen the Netherlands by foreign help. At the earnest request of the Estates of Holland and Zeeland he accepted, on July 5, 1581, the sovereignty over those two provinces as long as the war should last. At the end of the same month all the provinces which had not yet made terms with Parma abjured by a solemn act the sovereignty of Philip. He had not fulfilled his duties as their protector; he had destroyed their ancient liberties and treated them as slaves; he was not their prince but their tyrant,—as such they lawfully and reasonably claimed to depose him.

The Netherlanders prepared themselves for open fight. They could not hope to cope with Philip single-handed; but by abjuring his sovereignty they could put themselves under the protection of the powers opposed to Spain. The Archduke Matthias of Austria had been useless to them. He was dismissed with thanks, and the Duke of Anjou was elected sovereign by all the States except Holland and Zeeland, who would have no head but William of Orange. They hoped that the old hostility between France and Spain might be revived, and that as Henry II. had defended the oppressed Germans against Charles V., so Henry III. might maintain their cause against Philip Moreover there was a project of marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou. If this had been brought about, a union would have been formed between England and France in opposition to Spain; political motives would have once more prevailed over religious dissensions and the old system of European politics would have been re-established as it had been before the Reformation.

Duke of Anjou made sovereign of the Netherlands.

The wooing of the Duke of Anjou is ludicrous enough in the accounts which have come down to us. It is difficult to believe that Elizabeth, at the mature age of 48, could have any deep affection for her ill-favoured suitor, who was 20 years younger than herself. Francis of Anjou was small and badly made; his face was marked with small-pox, his skin was covered with blotches, and his nose was swollen to double its size. His voice was harsh and grating; Elizabeth used to call him her 'Frog.' No doubt Elizabeth was ready to marry him, and was nearer to marriage with him than with any of her previous suitors, because she thought that through him her political position might be securely established. Yet she was resolved to be quite sure on this point before committing herself. Meanwhile she behaved with all the coyness of a bashful girl; she allowed her subjects to think that her mind was made up, and waited to see the result. A pamphlet appeared, by a young lawyer of the name of Stubbs, called 'The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf, wherein England is like to be swallowed up by another French Marriage, if the Lord forbid not the banns by letting her see the sin and punishment thereof.' The book was suppressed by royal proclamation, and Stubbs was sentenced to the amputation of his right hand. After the execution of his sentence Stubbs waved his hat with his left hand and cried 'God save the queen.' But Elizabeth learned from the feeling then displayed that the English Protestants looked with disfavour on a French marriage.

Anjou's wooing of Elizabeth.

Meanwhile, in the summer of 1581 the Duke of Anjou advanced into the Netherlands, compelled the Prince of Parma to relinquish the siege of Cambray, and garrisoned the town. Then disbanding his army he crossed over to England to pursue his wooing. The articles of the marriage treaty were concluded; but still

Elizabeth wavered. When it came to the point, she doubted if France would really hold to the offensive and defensive alliance which she demanded; she doubted how her marriage would affect her own position and power. Anjou was received with every sign of affection. After a splendid festival the queen, in the presence of her court, drew a ring from her finger and placed it upon his. But after three months' wooing, during which time Elizabeth showed him all possible regard, her mind was still not made up. Anjou departed, for he could be no longer absent from the Netherlands. Elizabeth herself accompanied him to Canterbury, and took leave of him with tears. A splendid retinue of English nobles was sent to accompany him, and Elizabeth wrote to the Estates General of the Netherlands requesting them to honour him as if he were her second self. Perhaps she wished to see how Anjou would succeed in the Netherlands before committing herself to him. She wished still to have it in her power to resume negotiations for marriage, if she were convinced that it would be advantageous to her.

In February 1582 Anjou was installed in Antwerp as Count of Brabant, and soon afterwards was accepted by the other united provinces, except Holland and Zeeland, as their prince. In every case he received the old constitutional sovereignty, and was bound to maintain the old liberties. He soon chafed at the restraints by which he found himself surrounded. He complained that the real power was in the hands of the Estates General, and that he was prince only in name. A plan was accordingly formed among his French officers of seizing on the most important cities, and making Anjou supreme by force. Anjou himself planned the surprise of Antwerp. On January 17, 1583, the French troops suddenly dashed through the streets

Anjou in the Netherlands.

of Antwerp, crying out, 'Vive la messe! vive le duc d'Anjou!' The citizens were at first surprised, and the French dispersed to plunder. But the burghers soon recovered themselves and threw up barricades in the streets. The French were driven out with great slaughter, and Anjou, who was eagerly awaiting the result outside the gates, had to retire baffled.

Anjou's treachery.

This act of deliberate treachery awoke the deepest resentment among the Netherlanders; but William of Orange was anxious to avoid any rupture with France. The year was spent in futile negotiations with Anjou, who at last retired to Paris, where he died in June 1584. He was a man entirely destitute of any principles; his sole motive was a vainglorious desire for his own advancement. His appearance is ludicrous in the history of England, and contemptible in the history of the Netherlands. If he had won a battle against the Spanish forces in the Netherlands, the result might have been most important. French help might have been openly given against Spain; he might have married Elizabeth, and England and France might have united in a great effort against Spain on the battle-field of the Netherlands. As it was, he strengthened the hands of the Duke of Parma; for his presence at Cambray gave a reason to the provinces which favoured Parma for admitting Spanish troops; if they had not done so, Parma's hands would have been tied. Lastly, Anjou's treacherous attempt against Antwerp spread distrust and confusion among the united provinces.

CHAPTER II.

THE JESUITS AND THE CATHOLIC REACTION.

WE must turn our attention from these political struggles to consider the shape which the antagonism between Catholicism and Protestantism had assumed, and the means by which Catholicism was aiming at its re-establishment.

The most powerful weapon for effecting the Catholic restoration was the Order of the Jesuits. This Order owed its origin to a young Spanish knight, Don Iñigo Lopez de Recalde, known as Ignatius Loyola. As a young man his mind was filled with the aspirations of Spanish chivalry, which still bore a strong crusading colour from the recent wars against the Moors. At the siege of Pampeluna, in 1521, Ignatius was wounded in both legs. After a long and tedious illness he recovered, but was lamed for life. During the weeks spent in bed his chivalrous fancies had received a religious tinge, which went on deepening afterwards. His mind gradually passed from the idea of worldly to that of spiritual warfare, and he transferred to his new quest the visions and feelings which had moved him in his first pursuit of arms. His imaginative mind was filled with fancies and apparitions, and the fervour of his enthusiasm kindled the minds of others. He found in Paris, where he went to study, two men of remarkable powers of mind who shared his own mystic beliefs, Peter Faber, a Savoyard, and a Spaniard, Francesco Xavier. They formed themselves into a little band, bound by the vows of chastity and poverty; they swore to devote themselves

Rise of the Jesuits.

to the spread of Christianity and to go where the Pope bade them. In 1537 they went to Rome, and called themselves by the military name of Jesuits,—the Company of Jesus. They added to their previous vows the vow of absolute obedience to their general, whom they elected for life; and they placed themselves entirely at the disposal of the Pope. While the papacy was being shattered by defection on every side, this new society arose, bound by a vow of the most absolute devotion to the papal commands.

This new Order was formed for active work, not for the cultivation of contemplative virtues. Its members wore no monastic habit, and accepted no clerical office. They devoted themselves to practical pursuits,—to preaching, to hearing confessions, and to the education of the young. The Order at once became powerful and rapidly spread; it appealed to the chivalrous feeling which the struggle against Protestantism had awakened in the minds of those who clung to the old faith. Its internal organisation was most rigid; the principle of obedience was used to separate the Jesuit from every tie which binds the ordinary man to his fellows. The Jesuit gave away all his possessions, cut himself off from his relations, laid aside all right of individual judgment, and obeyed his superiors without enquiring the reason or object of their orders.

Objects of the Order.

The power of the Jesuits over society in general was founded chiefly on their efforts to promote education and their development of the system of the confessional. They worked together with order and arrangement. They were good and careful teachers and got into their hands the instruction of the young, as they took no money for their teaching. They also formed minute rules for the direction of men's consciences, in an age when men's consciences were singularly awakened. We cannot wonder that such a society spread rapidly in the Catholic

countries, and that its organisation gave great strength to the Catholic reaction. A new spirit of zeal and earnestness was infused into the old ecclesiastical system, which had seemed to be crumbling away before the onslaughts of Luther and Calvin.

Under this new impulse Catholicism exchanged its attitude of repression for one of aggression. The papacy again became a power which had forces at its command. In the Netherlands the influence of the Jesuits in the Walloon provinces, which remained devoutly Catholic, had been greatly instrumental in bringing them back to Spain.

The growing strength of the papacy also encouraged it to attack England more boldly. We have seen how the excommunication of Elizabeth by Pius V. failed to move the English Catholics as a body from their loyalty. His successor, Pope Gregory XIII., saw that it was necessary to secure foreign help against England; his hopes were first fixed upon Don John of Austria, and we have seen how they were doomed to disappointment. The next hope of the Pope was to strike a blow through Ireland, where the people still remained Catholic and refused to accept the English Prayer Book. It does not seem that any vigorous attempts were made to enforce its use; but the Irish were represented to the Pope as groaning under religious oppression. Gregory XIII. believed that the Irish would rise at once in behalf of Catholicism, if only they received any small encouragement. An English exile, Thomas Stukely, received money from the Pope for the conquest of Ireland; he was, however, diverted to an enterprise against the Moors, where he met his death. But his confederate, James Fitzmaurice, brother of the Earl of Desmond, was resolved to try his fortunes alone. In June 1579 he landed with a few Spanish troops in Ire-

England and the papacy.

land, and took possession of the fort of Smerwick, near Kerry. The Irish, however, did not join him as he expected, and in a skirmish Fitzmaurice was killed. His brother, the Earl of Desmond, openly revolted, and, as the rising seemed to be gathering in force, a reinforcement of Spanish and Italian soldiers was sent to Smerwick in 1580. But the new deputy of Ireland, Lord Grey de Wilton, directed a vigorous siege against the fort, which was compelled to yield unconditionally. The English were embarrassed by the number of their prisoners, which equalled that of their own force. They were, moreover, savagely determined to give a lesson against foreign intervention. Already a fierce hatred of the Spaniards as Catholic oppressors had begun to rouse the hearts of Englishmen. The garrison of Smerwick was disarmed, and then butchered. The Earl of Desmond had no further hopes after this. The rebellion was crushed and severely punished. The papal attempt on Ireland had resulted only in failure.

At the same time also a Catholic attempt of a more insidious kind was made upon Scotland. Esme Stewart, Lord of Aubigny, came from France to Scotland. He was a nephew of the late Earl of Lennox, and so cousin to the young king James VI., with whom he rapidly became a great favourite. D'Aubigny had been a member of the Guise party in France. The Scots saw with dismay his influence over James, who created him first Earl, then Duke of Lennox. The favourite put himself at the head of the faction opposed to the Regent Morton, who had made many enemies. In 1581 Morton was accused of having been a confederate in the murder of Darnley, and was beheaded in spite of Elizabeth's attempts to interfere in his favour. Lennox now seemed supreme in Scotland,

Catholic attempt on Scotland.

and it was suspected that he would again unite the Catholic parties in Scotland and France against Elizabeth. The Protestant feeling of the country was alarmed, and the hatred of favourites on the part of the old nobles again found its expression in a bond. The Earl of Gowrie invited the young king to a hunt at his castle of Ruthven, where James found himself a prisoner in the hands of his nobles (August 1582). Lennox was banished from the kingdom, and died next year in France. The fear of Catholic influence in Scotland was for a time dispelled.

Meanwhile an attempt had been made to establish the influence of Catholicism in England itself. The zeal of the Jesuits had been contagious, and amongst other institutions to which it had given rise was the English seminary at Douay. This was a college for the training of the young English Catholics who went to study abroad. It was founded in 1568, but, owing to the troubles in the Netherlands, was transferred from Douay to Rheims. In 1579 Pope Gregory XIII. founded an English college at Rome. Its members were pledged to return to England and preach the faith which they believed. We cannot wonder that the Jesuit enthusiasm seized these young Englishmen, and that they were determined to do and suffer anything, provided they might further their great object.

Seminary priests in England.

In 1580 the first of these Jesuit missionaries, Parsons and Campion, set foot in England. Their success was at once very great. The English Catholics, who up to this time had given a kind of passive conformity to the new services, plucked up fresh courage. Numbers flocked to the secret services of these bold priests, who in different disguises, and under changing names, travelled from place to place throughout the land. Persecution lent a zest to their preaching, and the words of men who spoke at the peril of their lives were then, as

Jesuits in England.

always, powerful. A printing press was also set up, from which proceeded books in defence of Catholicism, written by trained controversialists among the Jesuits. The Catholics awoke from their torpor and became conscious of their wrongs. They no longer could consent to attend the reformed services, or to recognise the validity of Elizabeth's ecclesiastical laws. If this organisation had been carried out before the rising of 1570, it is impossible to say what might have been the result.

The government was thoroughly alarmed, and acts of parliament were passed, subjecting these missionaries to the penalties of high treason and increasing the punishments for recusancy. Anyone being absent from church was liable to a fine of twenty pounds a month. The Catholics were subjected to severe persecution, and their houses were ransacked in search of concealed priests. Campion and other Jesuits were taken prisoners and condemned to death on the charge of conspiring against Elizabeth. It was believed in England that secret plots were on foot against the queen's life. The Catholic countries of the Continent rang with stories of the martyrs' deaths and of the cruelty of the English queen.

Persecution of the Catholics.

The fears of England were soon increased by the death of the Prince of Orange. The reward offered by Philip and the fanaticism inspired by the Jesuits combined to afford two powerful motives for his removal. In 1582, immediately after the installation of the Duke of Anjou, a Biscayan, Joureguy, had fired at the prince, and wounded him in the neck. The assassin had amongst his papers a written vow to offer to the Virgin of Bayonne a robe, a crown, and a lamp, to the Lord Jesus a rich curtain, if his attempt succeeded. For a while Orange's life was despaired of; but he gradually recovered. It was not long, however, before a more

Death of the Prince of Orange.

successful attempt was made. A Burgundian, Balthasar Gerard, found admittance to the prince, and shot him as he was descending the staircase of his house at Delft (July 1584).

The death of Orange was a severe blow to the cause of Netherlandish freedom. He had given himself up heart and soul to the struggle against Philip, without any thought of his own aggrandisement, with entire devotion to the cause he had undertaken. Cautious and prudent, he yet shrank from no risks. On his own side he had to contend with the jealousy of the other Netherland nobles, who could not endure a chief. He was matched against the most skilful warriors and the ablest politicians of Europe. Yet William, 'the Silent' as he was called, moved cautiously among the dangers of his position, intent only on keeping the provinces united and determined in spite of reverses to persevere in their resistance against Spain. When he died his presence was particularly needed, as Alexander of Parma had been gaining over the cities of Brabant; Ypres, Bruges, and Ghent had all fallen into his hands, and he had laid siege to Antwerp, which was anxiously looking to the Prince of Orange for succours.

About the same time also another conspiracy was discovered in England against Elizabeth. Its principal agent was Francis Throgmorton, whose plan was to remove Elizabeth by assassination, and set Mary on the English throne by the aid of Spain and the French Catholics. Throgmorton was executed, and as his papers inculpated the Spanish ambassador, Don Bernardino de Mendoza, he was called to account before the council; on refusing to answer he was ordered to leave the country. It was an open defiance to Philip; but Philip was too busy with other schemes to take any notice of it at the time.

Throgmorton's conspiracy.

These constant plots against Elizabeth, and the deep

impression of horror caused by the death of William of Orange, made loyal Englishmen combine in defence of their queen. A voluntary association was formed, the members of which solemnly undertook to prosecute to the death all who should make an attempt against the queen, and all in whose behalf such an attempt should be made. This was a threat against the imprisoned Mary, a warning to her party that her death would follow on the success of any plot against Elizabeth. The Catholic assassinations were met in England by a stern threat of vengeance. The two parties stood in undisguised hostility the one to the other.

Association to protect Elizabeth.

Edwd Weller

London. Longmans & Co

BOOK VI.

THE LEAGUE AND THE ARMADA.

CHAPTER I.

SPAIN AND THE LEAGUE.

PHILIP II. meanwhile was occupied with larger schemes for the aggrandisement of the Spanish monarchy. At the beginning of the revolt of the Netherlands his cautious temper had led him to resolve to overcome the rebel provinces before proceeding to his greater undertakings. Now that the Prince of Orange was removed, and Alexander of Parma was winning town after town, it seemed to Philip that the revolt must soon be extinguished. The only hope of the Netherlands lay in foreign assistance. Elizabeth was not prepared to help them; but they still had hopes from France. In the beginning of 1585 an embassy from the United Provinces appeared at the French court, and offered to Henry III. the sovereignty as it had been exercised by Charles V.; they begged to be united to the French crown. Henry listened to their request, but at last declined it. Still his conduct was alarming to Philip II. Moreover, Catharine de' Medici had brought forward

Philip II. and France.

claims to the throne of Portugal, for which she demanded satisfaction from Philip. Philip was of opinion that the best thing he could do to advance the power of Spain was to check the power of the French court and obtain an influence over French affairs.

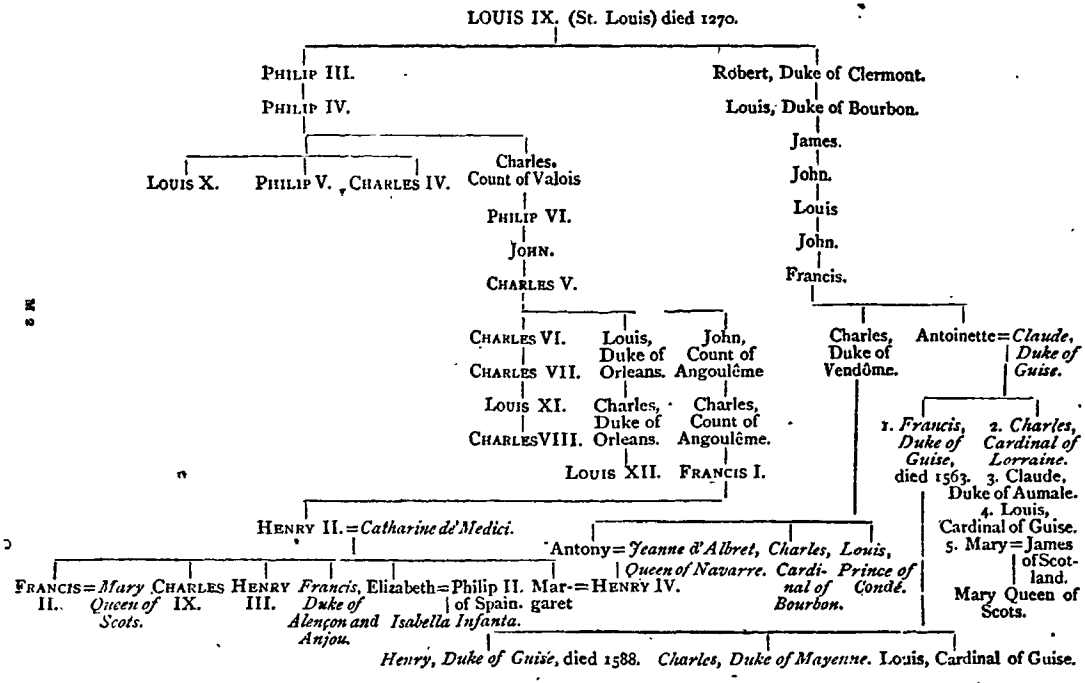
The state of things in France invited him to interfere. Henry III. himself was unpopular amongst his nobles. He surrounded himself with worthless favourites, and spent his days in effeminate amusements with these *mignons* of the court. He delighted to appear in public in feminine robes of great magnificence, with pearls hanging from his ears in a style of Oriental profligacy and luxury. He had no children, and the death of the Duke of Anjou excited men's minds about the question of the succession. The nearest heir of the blood royal was Henry, king of Navarre, whose marriage with the king's sister Margaret had been the occasion of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. Henry of Navarre was a Huguenot, and the possibility of his succession was alarming to the French Catholics, and equally so to Philip of Spain.

Character of Henry III.

The religious struggle, as we have seen, was more violent, and offered sharper contrasts in France than it did in other countries. The French Catholics saw with daily increasing disgust the toleration given to the Huguenots; the idea of a Huguenot king was intolerable to them. The Catholic party gathered round the Duke of Guise, and it was easy for Philip to stir it into activity. The alliance between Philip and the Guises was formed in January 1585. It is known as 'the League.' Its object was to prevent a heretic from becoming king of France by securing the succession of the Cardinal of Bourbon, a younger brother of King Anthony of Navarre, and so uncle to Henry of Navarre. Further, they agreed to

Formation of the League.

TABLE SHOWING THE SUCCESSION TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE.



extirpate Protestantism, not only in France but also in the Netherlands. In April the League published its manifesto, setting forth that subjects are not bound to recognise a prince who is not a Catholic. The interests of the nobles, the clergy, and the towns were all provided for. The Guises enlisted against the government the selfish feelings of every class.

Had Henry III. possessed any force of character or any power of political insight, he would have made common cause with the Huguenots and the Netherlanders to repel this outrage upon the crown. As it was, however, his religious feelings overpowered all others; he became a confederate with the Guises, and revoked (July 1585) the edicts of toleration to the Protestants. There was no longer any hope to the Netherlands of putting themselves under the protection of France.

Henry III. and the League.

Meanwhile Alexander of Parma had been steadily advancing in his plans. On the result of the siege of Antwerp depended the fate of the provinces of Flanders and Brabant. Parma strained every nerve to ensure its surrender, and carried out his plans for its capture with a perseverance and resoluteness which nothing could shake. The siege of Antwerp was long memorable in the annals of sieges. Antwerp, the great commercial capital of Europe, stands at the mouth of the Scheldt, where the river broadens into an estuary of the sea dotted with small islands. The strong places on the landward side were in Parma's hands. But Antwerp was too well fortified to be taken by storm, and it was impossible to blockade it so long as the river remained open. The flat-bottomed boats of the Hollanders could take advantage of any condition of the tide and bring supplies to the beleaguered city. Parma, however, made himself master of the banks of the Scheldt and built forts

Siege of Antwerp.

at such places as secured him the command of the navigation of the river. He then proceeded, during the winter of 1584, to build a bridge across the stream. The Scheldt was here 60 feet deep and 800 yards broad; to bridge such a channel seemed to the besieged an impossible folly. But the Spaniards, beginning from either bank, slowly drove in their piles so firmly that their work withstood the huge blocks of ice that in the winter months rolled down the stream. When the piers had been built as far as was possible, the middle part was made sure by a permanent bridge of boats. In February 1585 the Scheldt was closed.

In Antwerp, however, lived an Italian engineer, Giambelli, who proposed a means of breaking through this barrier. He took two ships, in each of which he built a marble chamber, filled with gunpowder, over which was placed a pile of every kind of heavy missile. These ships were floated down the Scheldt, but their meaning was disguised by some small fire-ships which sailed in front of them. The Spaniards spent their energies in warding off the fire-ships, and the other two struck against the bridge; in one the match burnt out without reaching the powder, but the other took fire with a terrific explosion. A thousand Spanish soldiers were hurled into the air, and a breach of two hundred feet was made in the bridge. Confusion and panic terror struck the hearts of the Spaniards. But the men of Antwerp could not use their success; the signal was not given to the Zeeland fleet which was waiting out at sea. No relief came, and Alexander of Parma, recovering at once his presence of mind, set to work with desperate energy to repair the breach. In three days the blockade was again established, and Parma awaited the end. Another desperate sally was made by the Netherlanders, who succeeded in carrying one of the Spanish forts; but they

could not maintain themselves there against the valour of the Spanish troops when they were under their heroic leader's eye. The Netherlanders were driven back, and with their failure Antwerp's last hope was gone. The city capitulated on August 17, 1585; there was to be a general amnesty, but only the Catholic religion was to be tolerated; those who refused to conform were allowed two years to wind up their affairs and quit the city.

When France had refused all help to the Netherlands and had admitted Spanish influence within its borders, it became evident to Elizabeth and her ministers that English help could no longer be refused. It was clear that England would soon be attacked by Philip II., and that every effort must be made to keep him employed. The States offered the sovereignty to Elizabeth, as they had done before. She would not however, accept this, as she would not openly countenance rebellion; she rather wished to give the States only just as much assistance as would enable them to maintain themselves against Spain, and she wished to help them at as little cost as possible. Months were spent in haggling between the two powers. At last Elizabeth, though she refused even the title of Protector of the Netherlands, agreed to furnish 5,000 footmen and 1,000 horse, but demanded the surrender of Brill and Flushing into her hands as guarantees for the payment of her expenses. The Netherlanders were compelled sadly to submit to these hard terms, and at the end of 1585 the Earl of Leicester landed in Holland as leader of the English troops.

Elizabeth sends troops to the Netherlands.

Leicester was not, however, fit to oppose so skilful a general and politician as Alexander Farnese. He committed a blunder immediately after his landing, by transgressing the queen's commands and accepting the supremacy over the government of the Netherlands. under the title of governor-

Leicester in the Netherlands.

general. Elizabeth was highly indignant, and wrote angry letters to the States. Parma, to gain time, had opened negotiations with Elizabeth. It is certain that the queen was not indisposed to peace with Spain, and could she have secured it would have sacrificed the cause of the Netherlands. She listened to proposals for handing over the cautionary towns to Parma. Rumours of these negotiations spread among the Netherlanders and kindled doubts of Elizabeth's sincerity. Men were afraid that their experience of the Duke of Anjou would be repeated in Elizabeth.

The negotiations came to nothing; but they prevented England from helping the States with vigour, and gave Philip time to prepare for a great blow against England. This was made more necessary for him by the bold exploits of Sir Francis Drake, who at the end of 1585 set sail with a fleet of 25 vessels for the Spanish main. There he captured, plundered, and destroyed the wealthy and important cities of San Domingo and Carthagena; he coasted along the shores of Cuba and Florida, plundering as he went, and in July 1586 returned to England laden with booty. The Spaniards exclaimed, 'Drake has played the dragon.' Philip was alarmed for the security of the Spanish trade with its colonies in the New World, on which much of the resources of Spain depended. It was of the highest importance to him that this English aggression should be checked. His plan was a great naval invasion from Spain and the Netherlands at the same time. The English Catholics, he calculated, would rise on behalf of Mary. Under such a general as Parma the capture of London would be easy; Elizabeth was to be put to death; Parma could marry Mary, and govern England in the interests of Spain and Catholicism.

Drake in the Spanish Main.

While Philip was revolving this design, Leicester was

doing nothing to cause a diversion in the Netherlands. In spite of his presence Parma captured Grave and Neuss. Leicester laid siege to Zutphen, and Parma marched to its defence. In the battle that ensued, Leicester's nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, received a wound of which he died. Great was the grief of Europe at his death, and men of every nation mourned for him. Though he died at the early age of thirty-two, his pure and noble spirit had left its mark upon his times. He was a brave warrior, an accomplished gentleman, a famous scholar, a wise politician. He was a man of lofty soul and deep religious feelings. All who met him owned the charm of his manner and his ready appreciation of every kind of excellence. He was 'the common rendezvous of worth in his time.' His character still stands out as the type of English chivalry in Elizabeth's England.

Death of Sir Philip Sidney.

Leicester achieved nothing in the Netherlands. The States were dissatisfied with him, and he returned to England in November 1586. Elizabeth needed all her counsellors around her. Philip II. had secured France by the complications of her internal affairs, and was now threatening England in earnest. The Netherlands seemed to be giving way to the Prince of Parma. England was fearful of Catholic plots, and the adherents of Mary were raising their heads in expectation of the promised help of Spain.

CHAPTER II.

THE SPANISH ARMADA.

To meet the threatened danger Elizabeth took the only steps she could. She supplied Henry of Navarre with money to enable him to make head against the

League in France, and she made an alliance of 'stricter amity' with the Scottish king, whereby both powers bound themselves to maintain the cause of Protestantism and help one another in case of an invasion.

But though the open conflict was drawing near, the secret war of plots and assassinations did not abate its vigour. A plot for the queen's death was hatched in the Seminary at Rheims, and was communicated to the Spanish ambassador in France. In England Anthony Babington was charged with carrying out the scheme, and he soon gathered round him a band of Catholic fanatics. Their object was to kill Elizabeth, set Mary free and make her queen by Spanish help. The plot was communicated to Mary and received her sanction and approval. The conspirators, however, had not conducted their plans with sufficient secrecy. The plot was known to Elizabeth's watchful secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham. Few things are more surprising in the history of this period than the dexterity with which both Walsingham and William of Orange organised a system of spies and obtained information of their opponents' measures. Walsingham had his creatures in every court of Europe; even in the Jesuit Colleges he had men in his pay. The perilous state of affairs and the unscrupulous diplomacy of the time had made a system of espionage a necessary part of statesmanship. When hypocrisy and deceit formed so great a part of politics, they could only be met by more profound and elaborate dissimulation.

Babington's conspiracy.

Walsingham knew of the plot at once; but he saw in it a means of implicating Mary and involving her in treasonable practices. He did not immediately apprehend the conspirators, but allowed them to go on till he could get clear evidence of Mary's complicity into his hands. In this Elizabeth agreed; she had the

Mary implicated.

courage to expose herself to the dangers of this conspiracy, which might at any moment break upon her, in order to give Walsingham time for his discoveries. The conspirators communicated with Mary by means of a man who was in Walsingham's employ. Letters passed between them concealed in beer barrels which were carried in for the use of Mary's household; but a copy of every letter was taken by Walsingham's secretary on the way. At last when proof enough had been obtained, Walsingham's toils closed round the plotters; they were taken prisoners and confessed.

Mary was kept in ignorance of their fate. During her absence from her room her papers were all seized, and the evidence of her restless plotting was laid before Elizabeth. Babington and his companions were executed in September 1586. As to Mary, Elizabeth's ministers were determined to be rid of her, and free the country, before the hour of its extremest peril, of the danger which her presence had always brought. Elizabeth was hard to manage in this matter; she was willing to be rid of Mary, but shrank from the odium which Mary's death would bring upon herself. At length a commission of forty-six privy counsellors and noblemen was appointed to try Mary, 'commonly called Queen of Scots,' under the provisions of the act passed two years before for Elizabeth's protection. Mary was taken to Fotheringay Castle in Northamptonshire, and the trial began. At first Mary refused to answer, saying that she did not acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court over a queen; but she at last consented to plead. The evidence was heard, and on October 25 sentence was pronounced against Mary on the ground of privity to Babington's plot 'for the hurt, death, and destruction of the royal person.'

Mary condemned.

Mary had been condemned; but Elizabeth hesitated to order the execution of a queen, a near relative to herself,

who had sought refuge in her kingdom, and whom she had kept for nineteen years in confinement. Parliament petitioned that the sentence should be carried into effect, and that the 'seedplot of so many conspiracies' should be removed. Elizabeth paused before she could resolve; she even made overtures to have Mary privily put out of the way, that so she might avoid the responsibility of a decision. At last she signed the warrant for Mary's execution, but gave no orders that it should be carried into effect. Her secretary, Davison, at once took action upon it, and Mary was beheaded in Fotheringay Castle on February 8, 1587.

Mary executed.

It is impossible not to feel a certain amount of sympathy for Mary, round whose personal history so much romance has gathered. Yet her death was necessary for England's safety. She had not spent her years of confinement as a pining captive; her days were passed in constant intrigues and plottings; she was not merely a passive but an active enemy to Elizabeth and to England. She represented in her own person all that was opposed to Elizabeth's quiet, and to the peace of Protestant England. Of this fact she was always conscious, and hoped at every turn of affairs not only for liberty but for the English throne. So long as she lived, England could not offer a united front to foreign foes. When she died the citizens of London kindled bonfires and rang merry peals of bells. A weight was lifted from men's minds, and they began to breathe more freely.

Results of Mary's death.

Elizabeth's conduct was most unworthy, but was extremely characteristic. She professed that she had never intended the warrant to be carried into effect. She expressed the greatest indignation against Davison, who was brought to trial for contempt, was severely fined, and never afterwards received into the royal favour. She put

on mourning for Mary, and sent excuses to James VI. of Scotland. She hoped in this childish way to reap the advantage of the deed which had been done, and to avoid the responsibility of the blame which it brought.

Mary's death was a distinct defiance to the Catholic powers. Pope Sixtus V. expressed boundless indignation; he made Dr. Allen, the founder of the Seminary, a cardinal; he offered Philip a large sum of money to help him in his invasion of England. On his side, Philip slowly bestirred himself; he furbished up claims of his own to the English throne. Mary's death had increased his eagerness to attack England by giving him a greater interest in the result; so long as Mary lived he must fight in her name; now he might fight in his own.

He was, however, restrained during the year 1587 by the unfavourable aspect of affairs in France. The League had not prospered so well at first as Philip II. had wished. Henry III.'s submission to it had been too prompt. It was probable that the moderate Catholics might still win the day under the king's leadership. Their policy was to convert Henry of Navarre, the heir-presumptive, to Catholicism, and so to unite France under one religion into a powerful kingdom. This was opposed entirely to the views of Philip and the Leaguers. They wished for the absolute triumph of Catholicism under the protection of the King of Spain; they aimed at excluding Henry of Navarre and entirely destroying the Huguenots. Until it had been decided which of these parties should carry the day, Philip could not withdraw his attention from France.

Progress of the League.

In 1587 troops were sent by the German and the Swiss Protestants to the aid of the Huguenots. The campaign that followed has been called the 'War of the three Henrys,' for Henry III., Henry of Navarre, and Henry of Guise each led his own

War of the three Henrys.

army into the field. Henry of Navarre was successful at Coutras in defeating the army sent against him under the command of the Duke of Joyeuse. It was the first battle the Huguenots had as yet won, and filled them with hopes of their young leader. The French and German troops were cut off from joining the Huguenots by the army under Henry III., who, being anxious to settle the war peaceably, prevailed upon them to withdraw, and carry on no further enterprise against the French crown. The Germans projected an attack on Guise, who had his own army under his command. Guise was however too strong for them ; they were defeated at Auneau, and driven with great slaughter out of the kingdom.

Thus then the Huguenots had been successful, and the violent Catholics had also been successful; but the moderate policy of the king seemed to be only half-hearted, and on his return to Paris he met with a cold reception from the people. His position was indeed a false one, as each of the two powerful parties in the kingdom had its determined supporters, while the king could not make up his mind to ally himself with either. He had the confidence of neither party, and in Paris an association of the citizens was formed for the aid of the Catholic princes. The people of Paris were fanatically Catholic ; they had been trained by the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, and were ready again to act with decision in support of their beliefs. Henry of Guise was their idol, and he was a man well fitted to be a popular leader. He was an accomplished cavalier and a brave soldier; his appearance was commanding, and he had a rare combination of bodily and mental vigour. By his frankness and geniality he attached his soldiers to himself in the camp ; by his geniality, affability, and courtesy, he won the hearts of the people in the city.

Position of Henry III.

The king felt that he was without influence in Paris, and that plots were being laid against him. He threatened vengeance, and the people summoned the Duke of Guise to come to their protection. Against the king's orders Guise entered Paris (May 9, 1588). The king ordered his Swiss guards, who were quartered in the suburbs, to enter the city. The citizens, indignant at the threat, rose against them; the streets were defended by barricades, and the dismissal of the troops was demanded. Six thousand guards were useless against the fury of half a million of people. The guards were driven out, and the king fled from the city. Guise was left master of Paris (May 12, 1588), and the king found himself again obliged to undertake the destruction of heresy, and to make Guise lieutenant-general of the kingdom. When Philip II.'s party had won this decisive victory in France, he felt that he was free to make his attempt upon England.

Guise triumphant.

Moreover the daring of English seamen made it necessary for him to take some decided step to vindicate the power of Spain at sea. In April 1587 Drake sailed from Plymouth with a fleet of twenty-five vessels, and entered the harbour of Cadiz. He defeated the ships sent against him, and destroyed some forty or fifty vessels, besides an immense store of provisions which Philip was preparing for his expedition against England. When he had done all the harm he could he went on to Cape St. Vincent, where he again did much damage to the ships and stores. He meant to have continued his voyage to the Azores to wait for the Spanish ships coming home from the Indies, but his fleet was dispersed by a storm. However, he was still able to capture one of the largest of the Spanish ships, the *San Filipe*, laden with treasures from the Indies. With this rich prize he returned to Plymouth on June 26. He

Exploits of Drake.

certainly had done his best to 'singe King Philip's beard,' as he had vowed to do. The spoil of the *San Filipe* alone paid for the expenses of the expedition, and gave good profits to those who had ventured their money to equip it.

It was intolerable to Philip that these indignities should be endured. His preparations were thrown back for a time; but in the end of May 1588 his fleet for the conquest of England put to sea. 'The most fortunate and invincible Armada,' as it was called, consisted of a fleet of 132 ships, manned by 8,766 sailors and 2,088 galley slaves, and carrying 21,855 soldiers, as well as 300 monks, priests, and officers of the Inquisition, who were to begin their work of the conversion of England the moment the landing was effected. The plan was that Alexander of Parma was to join them somewhere in the Channel with 17,000 Spanish troops from the Netherlands. There would thus be an army of 50,000 men for the invasion of England.

The Invincible Armada.

Elizabeth's preparations were sadly deficient. Though she had seen Philip's preparations, she had been lulled into security by feigned negotiations of Alexander of Parma. She seems to have refused, until the danger was actually upon her, to contemplate the possibility of an actual encounter with Spain. She hoped till the last moment that she might make peace for herself by abandoning the Netherlands to Philip. When she discovered her delusion preparations were still slowly and sparingly made. Neither fleet nor army was properly raised or equipped. There were only thirty-four ships of the royal navy, containing 6,279 men. But the seaport towns sent out their vessels, and noblemen and gentlemen on every side manned all the ships they could and placed them at their country's service. With one mind and one purpose England met its peril. If Philip's invasion had come earlier, when Mary of Scotland was

Elizabeth's preparations.

still alive, it might have found England distracted. Now that Mary was dead, Philip had no longer any plea by which he might appeal to the English people. His invasion bore no religious character; it was regarded merely as an act of foreign aggression. Catholics as well as Protestants gathered round the queen and armed themselves for her defence.

The Armada was long in reaching England. Its 'galleons' and 'galeasses' were huge unwieldy vessels, magnificent for a pageant, but hard to manage either in a storm or a fight. They expressed the stately grandeur of the Spanish character, as well as its inability to learn from the teaching of experience. Three weeks were spent in sailing from Lisbon to Cape Finisterre. Not till the middle of July were they seen off the Lizard point.

The Lord High Admiral, Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, at once put out from Plymouth harbour with sixty ships. Charles, Lord Howard, though by no means the most experienced sailor at Elizabeth's command, was well fitted for his post. He was popular amongst the sailors, and was both bold and prudent. Moreover, 'he had skill enough to know those who had more skill than himself, and to follow their instructions, so that the queen had a navy of oak and an admiral of osier.' Under him served such daring and experienced seamen as Hawkins, Drake, and Frobisher, men whose names were already a terror to the Spaniards, and who had borne round the world the fame of English seamanship and courage.

The English watched the huge Spanish fleet pass by, 'very slowly, though with full sails, the winds being, as it were, weary with wafting them, and the ocean groaning under their weight.' Howard allowed it to pass by on its way up the Channel to join with Parma. His tactics were to hang upon its rear and

The Armada in the Channel.

take advantage of its mishaps with his smaller and lighter vessels, which sailed twice as fast as the clumsy Spanish ships. The Spaniards wished to force an engagement, in which they trusted to their superior weight and numbers; but the English could choose their own time to advance or retreat. From Saturday, July 20, to Saturday, July 27, the English followed the Spaniards on their way to Calais roadsteads, inflicting on them many losses, cutting off their stragglers, and taking advantage of all their mistakes. On Sunday, July 28, the two fleets faced one another. The Spaniards lay off Calais, waiting for the arrival of Alexander of Parma; over against them lay the English fleet, increased now to about a hundred and forty sail, though the ships were much smaller than the heavy Spanish vessels.

It was no longer possible for the English to put off an engagement. If the Spanish fleet were to advance to Dunkirk, drive back the ships of the Hollanders, which at present guarded the coast of the Netherlands and prevented the egress of the Duke of Parma, the peril of England would indeed be great. This must be prevented; but the English commanders felt how difficult it was for their small ships to destroy the huge Spanish galleons.

Engagement off Calais.

'Considering their hugeness,' said Sir William Winter, whom the Lord Admiral asked for counsel, 'it will not be possible to remove them but by a device.' The device was soon contrived; six of the oldest vessels in the fleet were converted into fire-ships, and on Sunday night were despatched against the Armada. A wind sprung up which drifted them successfully to their destination. A panic seized the Spaniards, some of whom had been present at the siege of Antwerp, and shuddered at the thought of the explosion of Giambelli's infernal machine. A cry was raised, 'The fire-ships of Antwerp! the fire-

ships of Antwerp!' The terrified sailors cut their cables in their eagerness to escape, and the ships fell into confusion. Some came into collision, some were burnt by the fire-ships, the rest were driven by wind and tide northwards along the Flemish coast.

The English pursued, and on Monday, July 29, there was a hot engagement off Gravelines. The English ships refused to come to close quarters, but poured showers of musketry on the Spanish vessels, while the Spaniards on their part shot badly, and inflicted little loss on the English. The Armada suffered severely, and as the gale increased became more and more helpless before it. The English had soon spent all their ammunition, but still gave chase, while the Spaniards were driven on up the North Sea. At last Lord Howard, who had neither powder, shot, nor provisions, thought that he had 'put on a brave countenance' long enough. As he returned on Sunday, August 4, there blew a tremendous gale, which scattered his fleet for a while, but they all arrived safely in Margate roads at last. The Spaniards fared more severely in the northern seas. Some were driven on the shores of Norway, some were wrecked on the coast of Scotland, some on Ireland. The miserable remnant of the fleet, after being driven by the tempest round the Hebrides, at last reached Spain early in October. Fifty-three ships only out of the hundred and thirty-two 10,000 men out of the 30,000, found their way home.

Fate of the Armada.

Philip's projected invasion had hopelessly failed, mainly because no steps were taken to secure the junction between the troops of Parma and the fleet of Medina-Sidonia. The enterprise was skilfully devised, but it was ponderous, and admitted of no modification if any calculation failed. It fell in pieces before the bold and rapid attacks of the light English vessels and the fury of the elements, neither of which it

Cause of its failure.

was adapted to face. If the Armada had effected a landing, and had conveyed Alexander of Parma to England, it is impossible to say what would have been the result. Elizabeth's land forces had gathered at Tilbury, under the command of Leicester, to defend London; but they were only raw recruits, ill-fitted to face the veterans of Spain under such a general as Parma. Elizabeth in the hour of need showed true Tudor spirit. She went herself among her troops, and when her counsellors, through fear of Catholic plots, begged her not to show herself in public, 'Let tyrants fear,' she answered; 'I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and goodwill of my subjects; and therefore I am come amongst you, as you see, resolved in the midst and heat of battle to live or die amongst you all. I know that I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England too.' The volunteers at Tilbury were stirred to deep enthusiasm; but it was well that England's fleet saved her from the risk of trusting to Leicester's generalship and the undisciplined valour of recruits.

The Armada had failed, and its failure marked a decisive moment in the history of Europe. It told that the power of Spain was declining, and that England had again risen to be a great power in Europe. But this was a result not seen at once. Philip himself received the news of the fate of the Armada with his usual constancy; he did not change countenance. 'I sent it,' he said, 'against man, not against the billows. I thank God, by whose generous hand I am gifted with such power that I could easily, if I chose, place another fleet upon the seas.' He did not give up his design, but only resolved to make the next attempt more wisely. But there is a tide in the affairs of

Importance of the crisis.

men, and Philip was never destined to have leisure or means for another attempt. Affairs in France claimed his attention. A reaction against the power of Spain set in throughout Europe. England could wreak on Spain a ruinous revenge, and Philip dragged Spain into hopeless bankruptcy by his great schemes, which were always on the verge of succeeding but always missed that complete success which alone was worth having.

CHAPTER III.

REACTION AGAINST SPAIN.

PHILIP'S schemes were destined to similar failure in France. We have seen how entirely the power of the League had won the day at the begining of 1588. Henry III. was obliged to summon the Estates at Blois, and to submit to many limitations upon the royal power; war was to be resumed against Henry of Navarre. The king found himself merely a tool in the hands of the Duke of Guise and his party.

This position was intolerable to him, as a similar position had been intolerable to his mother, Catharine, when the Huguenot, Coligny, was endeavouring to mould the policy of the French monarchy. Henry resolved, as his mother had done, to free himself of his dangerous rival by assassination. On December 23, 1588, Guise was summoned to the king's chamber, and was murdered on entering it by some of the king's body-guard, while the king awaited the accomplishment of the deed. Great was the fury of the people. Paris took the first step, and refused any longer to recognise a king who had broken his word to the harm of

Assassination of Guise.

the Catholic faith. All the great towns of France followed the example of the capital, and the Duke of Mayenne, brother of the murdered Guise, placed himself at the head of the confederates. Open war broke out between the king and the League.

Henry III. by himself would have been powerless against this opposition; but Henry of Navarre with his small army of well-trained soldiers marched to his aid. Tolerance to the Huguenots was again proclaimed by the king. The Catholic royalists slowly gathered round him, and the contest lay between the principles of monarchy and tolerance on the one side, and the exclusive principle of Catholicism on the other. In July 1589 Henry III. found himself strong enough to lay siege to Paris. The League trusted to assistance from the Duke of Parma in the Netherlands; for Philip's cause was so closely allied with it that the subjugation of the Netherlands was now secondary to the success of his scheme in France. But the assassination of Guise was to produce its fruits. A fanatical Dominican priest, Jacques Clément, was so moved by a papal admonition denouncing Henry III., that he decided it was no sin for a priest to kill a tyrant. On August 2, 1589, he obtained an interview with the king, and stabbed him.

Assassination of Henry III.

The question of the succession to the French throne was now a matter of supreme importance. The heir-presumptive was the Huguenot Henry of Navarre; against him was brought forward the candidate of the League, the Cardinal of Bourbon. If it was worth Philip's while to interfere before in French affairs to gain influence for Spain, it was now a matter of vital importance for him to prevent the accession to the French throne of a man not only opposed to him in religion, but also an hereditary foe to

Question of the French succession.

the Spanish house. Henceforth to the end of his reign Philip's energies were directed to the repression of Henry of Navarre.

But it was now England's turn to assume an attitude of aggression against Spain. The spirit of naval adventure, which had already grown high in England, received fresh vigour from the results of the Armada fight. Hostility to Spain became a passion in adventurous minds, and any plan for an attack upon the Spaniards was received with enthusiasm. Early in 1589 an expedition against Spain was sent out under the command of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake. Don Antonio, the pretender to the crown of Portugal, accompanied them, for he hoped that his presence would stir the Portuguese to revolt against Philip. The fleet, consisting of some 50 vessels and 15,000 men, landed first at Corunna, where they burned the ships in the harbour and then proceeded to besiege the city; the lower town surrendered, but the upper town was too strongly fortified to be taken by storm. Moreover a Spanish army of 15,000 men marched to the relief of the town; the English, 7,000 strong, met them about five miles from Corunna, and after a short but sharp encounter repulsed and pursued them with great slaughter.

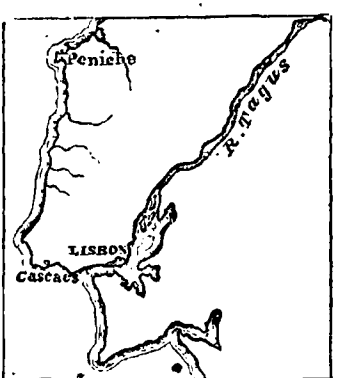
England's naval war against Spain.

These exploits were brilliant, but fruitless for the main object of the expedition, and Elizabeth was angry that Drake had not at once proceeded to Lisbon. At length, however, he passed on thither, being joined on his way by transports, with which came a noble volunteer, the young Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, then at the age of twenty-two. Essex was now Elizabeth's chief favourite; he had been commended to her by Leicester, who was afraid of the growing influence of Sir Walter Raleigh. After Leicester's death, which took place immediately after the repulse of the Armada, Essex held the chief place in the queen's

Expedition against Lisbon.

affections. But the ambitious youth of twenty-two found it hard to curb his high spirit within the narrow bounds required to pay court to a mistress who was approaching the age of sixty. He had longed to join this expedition, but had been prevented by the queen's express commands to Drake and Norris to send him back from Plymouth. He had, however, managed after all to elude the royal vigilance and go forth upon his quest for martial glory.

Norris landed in the middle of May at Peniche, about forty miles from Lisbon. Drake sailed up the



Tagus to join him against Lisbon. But Norris found it hopeless to take Lisbon. His troops were suffering from sickness, brought on by intemperance at Corunna; the Portuguese did not rally, as had been expected, round Don Antonio, whose name brought only a few unarmed peasants: the English had no cannon to batter the town. Norris marched back and joined Drake at Cascaes, at the mouth of the Tagus, where they took the fort and seized sixty vessels belonging to the Hanse

Towns that lay in the harbour laden with provisions. After some more pillage along the coast the English returned home.

The expedition had been a failure in its main object, and there had been great loss of life through sickness. Yet the English had shown how vulnerable Spain was, and had defeated a Spanish army on its own ground. The name of Spain was no longer a terror to the English mind; it was rather a symbol of everything that Protestant England condemned. A crusading spirit against Spain and the Inquisition was mingled with a desire for glory and a thirst for gain, and sent the English youth to seek adventures in irregular warfare. Private adventurers, merchants, and gentlemen, all fitted up vessels for this fierce naval war, and the daring deeds of English seamen filled the Spaniards with surprise that soon gave way to alarm. The Spanish waters were no longer safe. In 1590 ten English merchantmen, on their way home from Venice, defeated twelve huge Spanish war galleys which had been sent against them in the Straits of Gibraltar. The merchant ships of England were more than a match for the war ships of Spain; Spanish galleys and merchantmen alike were at the mercy of English privateers, which scoured the seas at their will.

English naval adventure.

The noblest of these privateers was George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, who strove by ventures at sea to repair his fortunes, which he had shattered by prodigality. He was renowned for knightly prowess in tournaments, and once as he kneeled before the queen to receive the prize she dropped her glove, which he thenceforward wore as a favour, encircled with diamonds; but in spite of this royal graciousness he refused to borrow the queen's ships for his expeditions, as he knew the thrifty Elizabeth would reckon hardly with him for any losses.

The queen indeed never failed to demand from these adventurers that their expeditions should be directly profitable to the royal coffers. When in 1590 Hawkins made an unsuccessful voyage, so that his prizes did not pay for the expenses, he made a humble apology to the queen, in which he said, 'Paul might plant and Apollos might water, but it was God only that gave the increase.' 'This fool,' testily exclaimed Elizabeth, 'went out a soldier, and is come home a divine.'

This temper of the queen was reflected in all others who engaged in naval adventures. When the first fear of Spain had passed away, these expeditions took too exclusively the character of free-booting, and lost their more definite political significance. The desire for gain outweighed with the younger generation of English seamen the desire of crippling Spain. There was, however, one man, Sir Walter Raleigh, who represented throughout his life the principle of statesmanlike opposition to Spain in its distant colonies. This principle he always urged in Parliament, and brought forward fresh schemes of colonisation in opposition to Spain. He it was who first colonised Virginia (1584), though the settlement failed for want of proper management and proper support. In 1592 he penetrated to the isthmus of Darien; but his plans were stopped by a message from the queen ordering him to return. Elizabeth disgraced her favourite for having dared to marry secretly one of her maids of honour, Elizabeth Throgmorton. In 1595 he made an expedition to Guiana in search of El Dorado, the fabled land of gold. His persistent hostility to Spain made his death a peace-offering which the pacific policy of James I. did not hesitate to make.

Colonising expeditions.

The temper of these English seamen may be illustrated by the conduct of Sir Richard Grenville. His one

ship, the 'Revenge,' faced a Spanish fleet of fifty vessels, nearly all of them twice as large as his own. From three o'clock in the afternoon till daybreak next morning did Grenville hold out against them all. Time after time a huge Spanish ship attempted to board him and was driven back. At last all his powder was spent, the pikes all broken; of his crew of a hundred men forty were killed and the rest all wounded. Grenville could fight no more, but he would not surrender. The Spaniards offered honourable terms, and Grenville was taken on board the Spanish admiral's ships, saying 'that they might do with his body what they list, for he esteemed it not.' In a few hours he died, amid the respectful cares of the Spanish nobles, saying, 'Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and a quiet mind, for that I have ended my life as a good soldier ought to do, who has fought for his country and his queen, for honour and religion.'

This was the spirit which opposition to Spain awoke in England, the spirit which beat back Philip and filled England with a strong and vigorous national life.

Meanwhile Philip's interest was fixed upon affairs in France. The death of Henry III. had opened out a wide prospect for the aggrandisement of Spain. The League in its fanatical attachment to Catholicism had almost entirely lost the feeling of nationality. Its members looked to Philip as the head of the Catholic party in Europe. They proclaimed the Cardinal of Bourbon king under the title of Charles X.; but Philip was to be recognised as Protector of France. Here was a prospect peculiarly suited to Philip's policy; France might be absorbed as a province in the Spanish monarchy, which would then be a great organisation for the entire re-establishment of Catholicism throughout Europe.

Philip II. and the League.

In opposition to the League Henry of Navarre as-

sumed the title of King Henry IV. He was of course supported by the Huguenots; but the Catholics who had adhered to Henry III. were sorely perplexed. They did not wish to give up the hereditary rights of the monarchy, but they could not consent to see the monarchy severed from Catholicism. Henry IV. gave them to understand that he was not obstinate in his adherence to Protestantism; he was willing 'to be further instructed.' Henry was not a man of deep religious principle. He had been brought up by his mother as a Huguenot; after the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day he had conformed to Catholicism, and had lived a gay, careless life at court. When things were a little more favourable he had again joined the Huguenots. So long as he was a prince of the blood he thought he had a right to hold his own opinions and to enjoy his political rights at the same time. But now that the rights of the monarchy had descended to him, things were changed. His first duty, he conceived, was to save the French crown, and again to unite the French nation. He looked upon religion with the eye of a statesman; if the principle of Catholicism were held by the French people to be a necessary element in the monarchy, he must not lightly set up against their wish the traditions of his early education.

Henry IV.'s religious position.

On this understanding the greater part of the Catholic royalists still held by him. But his chances seemed almost hopeless. Henry IV. was, however, admirably fitted to fight a difficult game. Always good-natured, amiable, and gay, he won men's hearts and inspired them with confidence. He was a brave and dashing soldier, to whom generalship seemed almost an instinct. Under an air of reckless good humour and unthinking jollity he hid a cool and calculating brain. While seeming to live for the moment he never

Character of Henry IV.

forgot the end which he had before him. He believed profoundly, with an almost religious fervour, in the justice of his cause. He was determined to succeed, and knew the importance of every small success in helping towards his end. He was, moreover, entirely free from pedantry, and was prepared to make any necessary sacrifice that could help his cause. He was soon supported by the popular opinion of Europe; for Philip's schemes awoke the profoundest alarm. The idea of the balance of power was beginning to prevail in European politics, and this idea demanded the existence of France as an independent power. Even Pope Sixtus V. was not willing to see the triumph of Catholicism purchased at the price of establishing the absolute power of Spain in Europe. Philip represented a party which was more orthodox than the head of the Church.

Henry IV. began his campaign in 1590 by besieging Dreux. The army of the League was led to its relief by the Duke of Mayenne, brother of the murdered Guise. The armies met in the plain of Yvry, where the royalists were victorious mainly through the desperate valour of Henry himself, who at once advanced to the siege of Paris. The city was ill prepared to stand a siege, and was almost reduced to starvation when Alexander of Parma advanced to its relief with his army from the Netherlands. He was bitterly disappointed at being stopped in his plans for the subjugation of that country by Philip's orders to advance into France. For a while the Netherlands had time to gather together their strength, and France became the battle-field of opposition to Spain. Henry IV. broke off the siege of Paris, and trusting to his cavalry, composed almost entirely of French nobles, wished to force Alexander of Parma to a battle. But Parma was a more experienced general than Henry; he out-manœuvred him

Campaign of 1590.

and refused to fight, till the nobles of Henry's army grew weary of waiting and his forces dispersed. Parma having done his work of relieving Paris retired to the Netherlands.

The death of the titular Charles X. during the siege increased the influence of Spain. The Leaguers had no one whom they could set up as king against Henry IV.; they could trust only to Spanish help. Their scheme was to confer the French kingdom on the Infanta Isabella, Philip's daughter by his third wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Henry II. of France. Philip demanded that he should himself choose for her a husband who should at once be acknowledged as king of France.

Philip's influence in France.

Meanwhile France seemed likely to be again split up; every province was fought for by two nobles, one on the side of the League, one of Henry IV. To help the League in Brittany Philip sent a body of Spanish troops. The presence of the Spaniards on the coast opposite to England awoke the liveliest alarm in Elizabeth, and made her more ready to send troops to the help of Henry. At her urgent desire, Henry, in the winter of 1591, laid siege to Rouen; but when he seemed likely to take it, the experience of his last campaign was again repeated. Alexander of Parma marched to its relief; Henry was obliged to raise the siege of Rouen, and was again out-generalled by Alexander in his attempts to cut off his retreat. The campaign of 1591-2 had been made useless to Henry IV. by the military genius of Alexander Farnese.

Campaign of 1591-2.

But in December 1592 Parma died at Arras, and Philip had no general whom he could set against Henry IV. for the future. Moreover the cause of the League was losing ground in France. The public opinion of Europe was beginning to tell,

Reaction in favour of Henry IV.

and the Republic of Venice had recognised Henry IV. in spite of papal admonitions. The party of the League in France itself was no longer unanimous. The question of the marriage of the Infanta Isabella raised jealousies; Philip first proposed as her husband his cousin the Archduke Ernest, brother of the Emperor Rudolph; but he was distasteful to the French, as he might one day become Emperor. Next Philip seemed to favour Charles of Guise, son of the murdered duke; but Mayenne was in no way desirous to see his nephew raised to power at his own expense. Since his brother's death he had been regarded as the head of the League, and he was not prepared to resign that position to his nephew. Amid the difficulties which had now sprung up, the moderate party of the Politicians was daily gathering strength against the fanatical Leaguers. The Parliament of Paris sent an admonition to the Duke of Mayenne to prevent the crown from passing into the hands of a foreigner. The distance of Spain prevented it from sending efficient military help to the League. Henry IV. drew nearer to the Catholics; he was prepared to change his religion for the purpose of securing his position as king of France. It was not, however, to the fierce Catholicism of the League that Henry IV. could possibly go over; it was to the moderate religious views of the royalist clergy, who were willing to grant toleration to the Huguenots as a condition of winning over the king to Catholicism. On July 23, 1593, Henry was solemnly received into the bosom of the Church by the Archbishop of Bourges in the church of St. Denis. He at once reaped the fruit of his conversion; many who could never have deserted the League to join a heretic now came over to his side. The French national spirit revived and took him for its champion In March 1594 the gates of Paris were

Henry IV. becomes a Catholic.

opened to Henry, and before the end of the year the Duke of Mayenne had made terms with him. Henry had still many difficulties to face before he had made his position as king of France quite secure; but Philip's project of making France a dependency of the Spanish crown had failed in spite of its apparent nearness to success.

BOOK VII.

ENGLAND AFTER THE ARMADA.

CHAPTER I.

ENGLISH LIFE IN ELIZABETH'S REIGN.

THE repulse of the Spanish Armada marks the period in Elizabeth's reign when the national spirit rose to its highest point. England, which had long been weighed down by doubts and fears, awoke to a consciousness of its true position. Internal conflicts and differences of opinion ceased to be of importance in face of the great danger which threatened all alike. Englishmen felt, as they had never done before, their community of interests, their real national unity. Hatred of Spain became a deep feeling in the English mind, and when combined with religious zeal and the desire for adventure produced that spirit of restless and reckless daring which so strongly marks the English character at this time. Nowhere is the outcome of awakened national feeling more finely expressed than in the lines which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of the dying Gaunt :

English character.

> This royal throne of kings, this sceptred isle,
> This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,

This other Eden, demi paradise:
This fastness built by Nature for herself
Against infection, and the hand of war;
This happy breed of men, this little world:
This precious stone, set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall
Or as a moat defensive to a house,
Against the envy of less happier lands.

Moreover England under Elizabeth's careful rule had rapidly increased in wealth and prosperity. It was free from war when all the rest of Europe was engaged in deadly struggle. The queen was thrifty and provident, so that industry was not crippled by heavy taxes. The troubles in the Netherlands threw great commercial advantages into the hands of the English which they were not slow in using. Increasing national prosperity went together with increasing national spirit, and England made rapid strides during the eventful forty-five years of Elizabeth's reign. One way in which this showed itself was in the great advance of literature. Men's tongues seemed to be loosened; they felt and expressed interests of every kind. No longer were some things only of importance, but all things that concerned man and his life and feelings were felt to be worthy of record. Hence it is that we know so much more of Elizabeth's times than we do of those that went before, and that we have materials for a sketch of the social life and manners of the people.

Results of increased prosperity.

The increase of wealth produced a greater desire for comfort, and Elizabeth's reign was marked by a great progress in all the refinements and appliances of daily life. Amongst the nobles the sense of peace and security, joined with the desire for greater grandeur, led to a change in the character of their residences. The fortified castle was re-modelled into a

Architecture.

palace, though still retaining its old appearance. This was the case with Kenilworth Castle, inside whose frowning battlements was a magnificent palace with every requirement of luxury.

New mansions were also erected all over England by the gentry who wished to live in a manner suitable to their dignity. No age has left a more decided mark on our domestic architecture than the age of the Tudors. The Gothic architecture of the middle ages had given way before the revival of the classical style which spread from Italy. The mixture of Gothic and classical architecture produced the stately yet simple Elizabethan mansions of which such admirable examples remain in Hatfield, Longleat, Audley End, Holland House, and Knowle. Country houses generally were built of brick or stone instead of wood; glass took the place of lattices. 'Of old time,' says Harrison in his Description of England, our countrie houses instead of glass did use much lattise, and that made either of wicker or fine rifts of oke in checkerwise. But now our lattises are also growne into lesse use, because glass is come to be so plentifulle, and within a verie little so good cheape if not better than the other. The wals of our houses on the inner side be either hanged with tapistrie, arras worke, or painted cloths, wherein either diverse histories, or herbes, beasts, and such like are stained, or else they are seeled with oke of our own or wainscot brought hither out of the east countries. As for stooves we have not hitherto used them greatlie, yet doo they now begin to be made in diverse houses of the gentrie.' When the Spaniards in Queen Mary's days saw the English houses, they said, 'These English have houses made of sticks and dirt, but they fare commonly as well as the king.' This reproach was no longer true in Elizabeth's time.

The uxury of comfort also made rapid progress.

'There are old men,' says Harrison, 'yet dwelling in the village where I remaine, which have noticed three things to be marvellouslie altered in England in this their remembrance. One is the multitude of chimnies latelie erected, whereas in their young daies there were not above two or three, if so manie, in uplandish townes of the realme. Another is the great amendment of lodging, for our fathers have lien full oft upon straw pallets, and a good round log under their heads instead of a bolster or pillow. The third thing they tell of, is the exchange of vessel, as of treene (wooden) platters into pewter, and wodden spoones into silver or tin. Such also was their povertie, that if some one od farmer or husbandman had been at the alehouse among six or seven of his neighbours, and there in braverie to show what store he had, did cast down his purse, and therein six shillings of silver, it was very likelie that all the rest could not laie down so much against it; whereas in my time the farmer will thinke his gaines verie small towards the end of his terme, if he have not six or seven yeares rent lieing by him, beside a fair garnish of pewter on his cupboard, with so much more in od vessels going about the house, three or foure feather beds, so manie coverlids and carpets of tapestrie, a silver salt, a bowle for wine, and a dozen spoones to furnish up the sute.' Increase of comfort.

The rich furniture and decorations of the rooms in noblemen's houses is described by Shakespeare in *Cymbeline*:— Furniture.

> Her bedchamber was hanged
> With tapestry of silk and silver: the story
> Proud Cleopatra, when she met her Roman,
> And Cydnus swelled above the banks, or for
> The press of boats, or pride: a piece of work
> So bravely done, so rich, that it did strive

> In workmanship and value. The chimney
> Is south the chamber; and the chimney-piece
> Chaste Dian bathing. The roof of the chamber
> With golden cherubins is fretted; her andirons
> (I had forgot them) were two winking Cupids
> Of silver, each on one foot standing, nicely
> Depending on their brands.

Carpets were not yet much known or used, and the floors were strewed with rushes; thus Romeo says:—

> Let wantons light of heart
> Tickle the senseless rushes with their heels.

In food, and in the exercise of hospitality, the English were profuse. The usual fare of a gentleman, says Harrison, 'was four, five, or six dishes when they have but small resort.' There were many kinds of meat, and 'for a man to taste of every dish that standeth before him is rather to yield unto a conspiracy with a great deal of meat for the speedy suppression of natural health, than the natural use of a necessary means to satisfy himself with a competent repast to sustain his body withal.' The great men dined in state at a high table in their hall, while their dependants sat at lower tables; the remnants of their dinner were given to the poor. Venetian glass, which was a rarity, was the favourite substance of their drinking vessels. Fifty-six sorts of French wines were imported into England, and thirty kinds of Italian, Greek, Spanish, and Canary wines. Drunkenness was then, as always, a characteristic feature of the English people. China dishes and plates were beginning to be known. Knives for eating purposes only began commonly to take the place of fingers in 1563, and forks were not used before 1611. The times for meals were strangely different from our present custom; the gentry dined at eleven and supped at five, the farmers dined at one and supped at seven.

Meals.

Dress was remarkable in this age for its splendour and magnificence; the vanity of the queen set an example of profusion which was almost universally followed, and which excited the anger of many Puritan satirists. Even then the English had no distinctive dress of their own, but followed foreign fashions without much taste. Every kind of dress was in vogue, and on great occasions there was a strange mixture of costumes. French, German, and Spanish dresses varied with 'Moorish gowns and barbarian sleeves.' Different patterns were adopted for dressing the hair and trimming the beard. Some men wore earrings, 'whereby they imagine the workmanship of God to be not a little amended.' Ruffs made of lawn or cambric were worn by both sexes; they were stiffened with starch and wire and were edged with gems. Queen Elizabeth left at her death a wardrobe of three thousand gowns, made of the richest materials; they were of enormous bulk, and were stuffed and padded so as to stand off from the body. Gentlemen's breeches and doublets were similarly padded to an uncomfortable size; over these they wore cloaks 'of silk, velvet, damask, or other precious stuff,' embroidered with gold or silver and buttoned at the shoulder. It was not uncommon for a courtier to 'put on a thousand oaks and an hundred oxen into a suit of apparel, to wear a whole manor on his back.'

Dress.

The title of 'merrie England' was not a meaningless one in Elizabeth's time. Nothing can give a stronger testimony to the strength of the wave of Puritan feeling which swept over England in the next century than to see how entirely it destroyed the many games and festivities which before were common throughout the land, and so stamped upon English life the somewhat hard and joyless aspect which it still wears. In the country the festivities of Christmas, New Year's Day,

Festivals in the country.

Twelfth Night, Plough Monday, Candlemas, Shrove Tuesday, Easter, May Day, and many others, were all celebrated with curious pageants and old traditional customs of merry-making. Each district had some historic festival which it commemorated by some rude pageant. The Morris dancers, Maid Marian and Little John, the show of the Hobbyhorse and the Dragon, and other performances of that kind, awoke the anger of the Puritans, who saw in them remnants of paganism and superstition. Sundays were the holidays of the week, when every village had its games and social recreations. Wakes, fairs, and weddings were all occasions of sports and jollity.

Dancing, archery, and bear-baiting were favourite amusements in the capital. There the fashionable promenade was the middle aisle of St. Paul's cathedral, where the young man of fashion would order his tailor to meet him with patterns; for the dark little shops were ill-suited for the display of goods. There by his remarks in public the dandy could get credit for his taste from passers by before he appeared in his new suit at all. Before dinner he walked in one dress, after dinner he returned in another. If he wished to attract especial attention he mounted the steps of the quire while service was going on. That was forbidden, and one of the quire boys at once left his place to exact a fine; then could the dandy amaze the congregation by the splendour of his 'perfumed embroidered purse,' from which in a lordly way he would 'quoit into the boy's hands that it was heard above the first lesson, although it were read in a voice as big as one of the great organs.' After this edifying display he would look into the bookseller's if he were of a literary turn of mind; if not, he would visit the tobacconist's; for tobacco, which was first brought to England by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1586, had already become popular.

Fashionable life in London.

As an amusement for the evening was the theatre, which first sprang into popularity during Elizabeth's reign. The stirring bustling time awoke an interest in the display of the activity and power of human life. The spirit of adventure felt a desire for satisfaction in the contemplation of the struggles of men against destiny, of the soul against its surroundings. The bands of players kept by the queen and noblemen for the performance of masques and pageants at their own festivities began to give public performances. The people needed something to supply the old Miracle Plays which the Reformation had stopped. Public theatres quickly increased in number. At first they were rude enough, and were in shape reproductions of the court-yard of an inn, which first had been the place for dramatic representations. The 'groundlings' of the pit stood unprotected from the weather; the boxes and the stage only were covered. The stage was divided into two parts by a balcony, and thus a simple kind of scenery was secured. At first plays were only allowed on Sunday evenings, but soon the players 'made four or five Sundays every week.' A penny or two-pence admitted to the pit and gallery; a shilling to the more privileged parts of the house. There were no women actors, and female parts were always performed by boys; but the spectators needed few external helps to give the words a meaning, and rouse their interest in the problem of human life and passion which the drama brought before them.

The theatre

As regards the ordinary occupations of the English, commerce and naval enterprise greatly increased the number of those who could find industrial employment. As a consequence of this the distress amongst the poor population in the country slowly diminished. The 'sturdy beggars,' who, during the last three reigns had infested the country almost like

The poor-laws.

banditti, were more easily put down in quieter times. The first step towards dealing with them fairly was to make provision for those who were really sick and destitute. A weekly collection was made in all parish churches for the benefit of the poor of the parish. When this was insufficient the justices were empowered to make an assessment for the purpose. Workhouses and hospitals began gradually to be built. Finally the system of parish relief for the poor was established on the present basis by a statute passed in 1601, which enacted that houses of correction be erected in every county, and provided for the maintenance of the poor by means of a rate, which was to be collected and distributed by overseers of the poor. In this way poverty was provided for, and the number of vagrants began slowly to decrease. But severity was still used against them, and not less than 300 of these disturbers of the peace were hanged yearly. It is computed that there were no fewer than 10,000 of these vagabonds in England, engaged sometimes in begging, with many devices to excite compassion, sometimes thieving, sometimes infesting the roads in bands, and using violence to the passers by. Their number diminished but slowly, as it was not easy for them to get employment. There was no great increase in the demand for agricultural labourers, and in the towns trade was rigidly guarded by the guilds. No man could practise a craft who was not a member of a guild, and had not served a regular apprenticeship. The apprentices were a powerful body in London; they were always ready to interfere in a disturbance, and the cry of 'Clubs!' would bring forth a small army of them, ready to take part in any riot that arose.

Occupations.

The occupations for aspiring gentlemen are noted by Shakespeare:—

Men of slender reputation
Put forth their sons to seek preferment out:
Some to the wars to try their fortunes there;
Some to discover islands far away:
Some to the studious universities.

To these we must add the difficult and perilous road to fortune by seeking court favour. Those whose position did not give them this opportunity, or who chafed under its restrictions, could find employment in the Netherlands, in France, or in naval expeditions against Spain. Others could go on voyages of discovery either in the Arctic regions or in the Indian seas. Those who preferred more studious pursuits studied in Paris, in Germany, or in Italy. Italy especially still exercised a powerful influence, over which the English moralists bewail. 'There be the enchantments of Circe,' says Roger Ascham, 'brought out of Italy to mar men's manners in England, much by example of ill life, but more by precepts of fond books.'

CHAPTER II.

THE ELIZABETHAN LITERATURE.

AMID the varied activity of Elizabeth's reign, English literature burst forth in its most vigorous form. No subject is more profitless for speculation than an attempt to assign the causes for literary activity. But one thought certainly suggests itself. Literature is concerned with the expression of individual thought, and the age which from any circumstances or conditions forces upon man the conception of his own individual power and force, prompts him also to express that conception in the most forcible language. We have seen how the age of Elizabeth brought upon

Causes of literary activity.

England a consciousness of its national greatness, and awoke in the minds of individual Englishmen a feeling of their own power. Men felt the greatness of the world and the importance of the issues before them; they felt also in those adventurous days how much each man could do for himself. Their ambition was boundless, and success awaited their own courage or cleverness or address. They felt their own importance and they knew their own strength.

Moreover, with increased leisure and increased comfort men had more time for cultivation. The revival of letters which had begun in Italy in the preceding century had been slow in taking root in England. The troubled times had prevented the spread of learning, and Germany and France had advanced more rapidly than England. Grammar schools had been established by Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and slowly produced their fruit. But under Mary learning had decayed; the universities were almost at their lowest point, for knowledge was sacrificed to disputation, and the fear of persecution cramped the freedom of thought. Under Elizabeth the universities at once began to revive; the queen was most anxious for their progress, and encouraged them by her presence.

Increase of learning.

The influence of Italian literature soon made itself felt in England. Already, under Henry VIII., had sprung up two 'courtly makers' as Puttenham called them, the Earl of Surrey and Sir Thomas Wyat, 'who having travelled into Italy, and there tasted the sweet and stately measures of the Italian poesie, greatly polished our rude and homely manner.' They introduced the sonnet, so well adapted to the expression of amorous conceits, which since then has held a chief place among our forms of poetical composition. Surrey also introduced blank verse in his translation of

Influence of Italy.

the second and fourth books of Virgil's Æneid. Translations rapidly increased in number. Harrington translated Ariosto's 'Orlando Furioso,' Fairfax, Tasso's 'Jerusalem Delivered,' and Chapman, Homer's 'Iliad.'

There was a greater desire for knowledge about England's past history. Archbishop Parker set an example of diligence in rescuing from destruction the records and documents which had been dispersed by the dissolution of the monasteries. Holinshed, aided by Harrison and others, compiled his 'Chronicles,' which show at all events a larger interest than had yet been felt. Stow was a diligent antiquary who travelled on foot through England to examine manuscripts, and whose 'Survey of London' is still the source of our knowledge of the early history of that city. With true antiquarian zeal Stow 'wasted his substance, neglected his business, and spent all his money' in his favourite pursuit. At the accession of James I. we find him reduced to want in his old age, and receiving from the king a permission to ask alms from the churches. Hakluyt was so impressed with the geographical value of the voyages then being made by the English that he collected and published the narratives of travellers. As Elizabeth's reign went on, enquiry increased and took a broader form. William Camden, head master of Westminster School, published his 'Britannia,' an antiquarian geography of Britain; after Elizabeth's death he wrote a history of her reign which shows a great advance upon previous contemporary annalists in breadth of view and political insight. Daniel's 'History of England,' Knolles' 'History of the Turks,' and Sir Walter Raleigh's 'History of the World' show an enlarged conception of historical writing, which was altogether new in England, and from which the rise of critical history can really be traced.

Historical enquiry.

The influence of Italian models was not entirely beneficial. All conscious efforts at imitation lead to affectation and pedantry; too great attention to style makes words be valued at the expense of thought. Obscurity took the place of clearness, and the desire to clothe a thought in a recondite image or far-fetched allusion was stronger than the wish to express the thought itself. Some of the simpler writers in the early part of Elizabeth's reign complain bitterly of these foreign affectations. Roger Ascham, the tutor of Elizabeth and Lady Jane Grey, in vain lays down the rule—'He that will write well in any tongue must speak as the common people do, and think as wise men do; so should every man understand him, and the judgement of wise men allow him. Many English writers have not done so, but using strange words, as Latin, French, and Italian, do make all things dark.' Ascham, himself a man of strong common sense, was Elizabeth's Latin secretary. He is known as the author of the 'Schoolmaster,' the first treatise on classical education in the English language, and of 'Toxophilus,' an elegant little dialogue on archery. Again, Thomas Wilson tried by his criticisms of style to stop the obscurity of expression which came from following foreign models extravagantly. 'Some seek so far outlandish English, that they forget altogether their mother's language. Some far-journeyed gentlemen, at their return home, like as they love to go in foreign apparel, so will they powder their talk in oversea language. The mystical wise men and poetical clerks will speak nothing but quaint proverbs and blind allegories: delighting much in their own darkness, especially when none can tell what they do say.'

English prose writers.

This affected style reached its highest point in Lyly's 'Romance of Euphues,' published in 1579. The story is but slight, and is concerned with a young

Athenian gentleman, who lives first at Naples and then in England; it is used merely as a thread to bind together a number of remarks and reflections on love, education, friendship, and other points. The style is antithetical and inflated; but there is much fineness of thought running through the book. It was written for ladies: 'Euphues had rather lie shut in a lady's casket than open in a scholar's study.' In this aspiration Lyly succeeded; the ladies of the court all became his scholars. A new style of speaking, called after its founder Euphuism, became fashionable and long prevailed among the courtiers. Shakespeare satirised Euphuism in his earliest play, 'Love's Labour's Lost,' in the character of the superfine Don Armado, while in Holofernes he shows us the other tendency, towards pedantry, which was engaged in spoiling the English tongue. Euphuism owed its great success to the patronage of the queen. It suited Elizabeth's character to express herself in quaint conceits, which by their length seemed to be a careful statement, while through their obscurity they were without meaning. To be decorous and impressive without committing herself decidedly to any definite action, was exactly what Elizabeth delighted in.

Lyly and Euphuism.

Sir Philip Sidney marked the return to a soberer and more straightforward style. Sidney's earliest literary effort was a masque, 'The Queen of the May,' in which the pedantic and affected talk was caricatured and ridiculed. His romance of 'Arcadia' was written immediately after the appearance of Lyly's 'Euphues,' but showed a great advance in manner of composition. The story was more continuous, and the teaching was not so much conveyed by direct moralising as by the incidents and situations of the story itself. The setting, however, is a perplexing mixture of chivalrous and classical surroundings; and though Sidney ridiculed

Sir Philip Sidney.

pedantry he could not avoid many extravagances and much that is far-fetched both in style and matter. Perhaps the only pure work of Elizabeth's time which has escaped the prevailing affectation is Sidney's 'Defence of Poesie,' a noble and graceful treatise on the power of imagination, and a vindication, as against the Puritan tendencies of the time, of its lawful uses. 'Nature never set forth the earth in so rich tapestry as divers poets have done, neither with so pleasant rivers, fruitful trees, sweet smelling flowers, nor whatsoever else may make the too much loved earth more lovely. Her world is brazen; the poets only deliver a golden.' 'I never heard the old song of Percy and Douglas, that I found not my heart moved more than with a trumpet.' In passages such as this we feel the fulness of joy in life and beauty, the depth and quickness of feeling, the nobility and force of spirit, which enabled the men of Elizabeth's time to do great things both in life and literature.

Puttenham and Bacon.

English prose writing went on through a course of purification and amplification throughout Elizabeth's reign. Puttenham's 'Art of Poesie,' which appeared in 1589, was an attempt at serious criticism. Its author tries to mediate between pedantry and barbarism, to show how the English language may be enriched without being encumbered. But the practical example how this could be achieved was given by Francis Bacon, whose Essays, first published in 1597, show a mixture of fancy and clearness which was new in English literature. These 'brief notes, set down significantly rather than curiously,' as their author says of them, show the effect which the political life of Elizabeth's time had exercised in maturing reflection and calling into life political wisdom. They are full of pregnant remarks on government; they show a keen analysis of the laws of the forces at work in human society, and of the motives by

which men are influenced in their common actions. They are incisive, clear, and condensed. Bacon had freed himself from all affected forms of expression. His imagination is fervent yet restrained; his imagery is abundant yet carefully selected with a view to clearness; he is grave, serious, and thoughtful; his language is chosen to give force and clearness to his thought. His style is not yet quite easy or flowing, but it is concise and dignified. Bacon's Essays will always rank as one of the standard models of English style.

But Bacon has a still greater place in English literature; he first clearly set forth the claims of inductive philosophy as against the old methods of metaphysical speculation. He asserted that knowledge was to be found by careful investigation of nature, not by spinning cobwebs of the brain. He turned men from disputations of words to an observation of the world around them. Bacon's method was faulty, as was natural for a beginner; but modern science has still to point to him as the man who first brought into due prominence the principles on which its method was to be founded. His great work, in which these ideas were first set forth, was not published till 1620, but it marks the fruits which the increased knowledge of the world in Elizabeth's reign had been slowly bearing in a thoughtful mind.

Bacon as a philosopher.

The great glory, however, of Elizabethan literature are the poets and dramatists. It was in the forms of the imagination that the new spirit of England first found its most congenial expression. Every kind of poetical composition began to advance. To write verses was a necessary accomplishment of every gentleman; no love-making could be carried on without a plenteous flow of amorous verse.

Love poetry.

> The lover
> Sighing like furnace, with a woful ballad
> Made to his mistress' eyebrow

is reproduced in all the poetry of the time. Partly the fashion was copied from the sonnets of Petrarch, which were devoted to the expression of changing phases of his pining love for Laura. But the fashionable forms were soon filled with the language of real feeling. The men of Elizabeth's times neither acted nor felt sluggishly. Their full and ardent natures felt and spoke strongly; sometimes in tones of passionate desire, sometimes with delightful fancies which sprung from delicate and tender thought. Sometimes the Elizabethan poets weave a sweet fancy into the rigorous forms of the sonnet; sometimes they transport themselves and their love from the dull region of common life, and in a realm of faintly imaged peace and simplicity pour forth their pastoral songs. Sometimes again the memory of old tales of love stirs them to tell again with living feeling the story of lovers' fortunes in bygone times.

Amongst these love-poets we may notice Sir Philip Sidney, who began to sing his lady's praises in studied and artificial forms: gradually he burst through his trammels and learned to be more natural :—

Sidney's sonnets.

> I sought fit words to paint the blackest face of woe,
> Studying inventions fine, her wits to entertain,
> Oft turning others' leaves to see if thence would flow
> Some fresh and fruitful showers upon my sun-burnt brain.
> But words came halting forth, wanting invention's stay.

At last the happy revelation came to the labouring student,—

> Biting my truant pen, beating myself for spite,
> 'Fool,' said my Muse to me, 'look in thy heart and write.'

His sonnets and his songs are full of delicate fancies, and express in new and varied imagery the changing moods of his own mind.

If Italy taught Elizabethan writers the sonnet as the

expression of love, no less powerful was the influence of the Italian epics of Ariosto and Tasso. We have seen how soon these poems were translated into English, where they soon produced a follower in Edmund Spenser, whose poem of the 'Faerie Queen' is the great epic of Elizabethan England. Spenser was educated at Cambridge, and began life under the patronage of the Earl of Leicester and his nephew Sidney. In 1580 he went to Ireland as secretary to the viceroy. There he spent almost all the rest of his days, living for the most part at Kilcolman, near Cork, where he had received a grant of three thousand acres of land. In 1598 his house was burned down in Tyrone's rebellion, and he was compelled to flee to England. He died in London in the following year. Though living in the seclusion of Ireland he took a deep interest in English affairs. His great friend was Sir Walter Raleigh, whom in his poem—'Colin Clout's come home again,' he celebrates as the 'Shepherd of the ocean,' while Sidney's untimely death is bewailed in the elegy of Astrophel. Spenser's poems are all animated by his own religious views. We see in them the force of the early Protestant feeling, the hatred of Romanism as being the source of error, the devotion to Elizabeth as the symbol of England's noblest aspirations. Spenser.

The 'Faerie Queen' is indeed a poem most characteristic of the time in which it was written. Standing on the threshold of the modern time, Spenser took the old forms of the past and breathed into them a new ideal life. Chivalry in its old meaning was past and gone; but its forms of tilts and tournaments and champions and ladies' favours still survived as a graceful amusement at the festivities of Elizabeth's court. The system was not yet forgotten, but all the genuine spirit of that system had faded away. It was Spenser's The 'Faerie Queen.'

object to make these dry bones of the past again live with the life of the present. The spirit of the new age in religion and politics alike was transferred into symbolical forms taken from the old legends of chivalry. In a far distant land, where the outlines were dim and faded into a soft dreamy haze, the imagination of the poet finely set forth in forms of knights and ladies the altered moral aspect of the world. Away from the tumult of the world, in his quiet retreat,—

> Under the foot of Mole, that mountain hoar,
> Keeping my sheep among the cooly shade
> Of the green alders by the Mulla's shore,

the poet peopled his ideal world with the creatures of his own fancy. Freed from the trammels of reality Spenser's imagination draws picture after picture, scene after scene, without effort or straining after effect. He moves easily in the world which he has created, a world far away from daily life, yet not so alien from men's thoughts as to be entirely unsubstantial and unreal. It is a world of lofty enterprise and high endeavour, of ceaseless labour and conflict for a great end. Virtues and vices encounter one another in incessant shock, and the soul of man is ever advancing through repeated trial and effort towards a higher aim. Yet over all is thrown an air of quietness and peace. Not the violence of excited emotions, but the steady course of the calm yet determined soul is the ideal of Spenser. Hence comes the air of purity and gentleness which is such a distinguishing feature of the 'Faerie Queen.' The poet's self-mastery gives the poem its dignity, refinement, and grace. 'The Faerie Queen' is the noblest monument of the fine cultivation of Elizabeth's age.

But Elizabeth's time is most famous as being the period in which the English drama flourished. The

new-born desire for knowledge turned to man, man's life, and man's destinies as the most congenial field for its enquiries, and the popular taste for dramatic spectacles gave it an open field for its display. Elizabeth's reign saw almost the earliest beginnings of the drama, and saw it reach its highest point in the plays of Shakespeare. The earliest English comedy which deserves the name, 'Ralph Royster-Doister,' was written in Henry VIII.'s reign by Nicholas Udall, head master of Eton; it is founded upon the models of Latin comedy, and deals with the adventures of a gull in his wooing of a rich widow. 'Gammer Gurton's Needle,' written about 1560, supposed to be by John Still, is almost farcical in its character and treats of the disturbance caused in a small village by an old woman's loss of her needle and the misunderstandings which followed. In tragedy Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, led the way by his play of 'Gorboduc,' or 'Ferrex and Porrex,' which was acted in 1562; the story is taken from ancient British history, and is concerned with royal jealousy, revenge, and murder. The play is a series of narrations rather than a drama; the action is only slightly represented on the stage, and each act is preceded by a dumb show to explain its purport.

The drama.

It is, however, in about 1586, when the excitement of England had reached its highest pitch, that Marlowe first began to write, and was closely followed by Greene, Peele, Nash, and Shakespeare. Marlowe, Greene, and Peele were all of them educated at the university, and after many discreditable adventures settled down in London, where they led a wild literary life. They and a few kindred spirits formed a profligate circle, who haunted taverns and were ready to turn their hands to any rude jest or unprincipled trick which might supply them with means to carry on their debaucheries.

Greene.

Besides being a play writer, Greene was also a writer of tales, mostly after Italian models; but he has also left some interesting tracts which throw great light upon his own life. On leaving Cambridge he travelled to Italy and Spain, where he 'saw and practised such villany as is abominable to declare.' On his return to England he 'ruffled out in silks, and seemed so discontent that no place would please him to abide in, nor no vocation cause him to stay himself in.' 'Young in years yet old in wickedness, I began to resolve that there was nothing bad that was profitable: whereupon I grew so rooted in all mischief that I had as great delight in wickedness as sundry have in godliness.' He followed through life his idea that 'what is profitable ceases to be bad:' he married and deserted his wife; he rambled here and there, sometimes in a state of maudlin repentance, then relapsing into debauchery as soon as he could get any money by the numerous tales and pamphlets which he hurriedly composed. He died in poverty and misery at the early age of 32, of the results of a surfeit of Rhenish wine and pickled herrings. The life of Greene may serve as an example of that of the others. Marlowe was even more unhappy; he was stabbed at the early age of 28 in a tavern brawl. Besides their dissolute lives, Marlowe and Greene were both accused of having made open profession of atheism.

Marlowe's plays.

From such wild and stormy natures it may be supposed the Elizabethan drama found no calm beginnings. In Marlowe, fury, desire, and villany reach an extravagant pitch of passion. In 'Tamburlaine the Great' he represents the Tartar conqueror inflated by ambition and success to a point that almost baffles expression. He rages against God and man alike, and believes he has passed beyond the common lot of humanity. The imagery throughout the play is colossal:—

I would strive to swim through pools of blood,
Or make a bridge of murdered carcasses,
Whose arches should be framed with bones of Turks,
Ere I would lose the title of a king.

In the 'Rich Jew of Malta' human villany is displayed on the most gigantic scale: the Jew commits every possible crime, even to the poisoning of his own daughter, with fiendish ingenuity, and exults in his success. The prologue of the play is spoken by Machiavelli, who is made to lay down the principle,

I count religion but a childish toy,
And hold there is no sin but ignorance.

In his play of 'Faustus' Marlowe has dealt with the effects of the overpowering desire for knowledge, the thirst for power, the craving to overstep the limits of life, to enjoy a few years' intoxication of success at the expense of all the future. We are astonished that a work which shows so much profundity of thought should have been written by so young a man. The desires and interests of an Englishman of that age are set forth in Faustus' exclamation of delight when first he knows that he has power to command spirits:—

I'll have them fly to India for gold,
Ransack the ocean for orient pearl,
And search all corners of the new-found world
For pleasant fruits and princely delicates.
I'll have them read me strange philosophy;
And tell the secrets of all foreign kings:
I'll have them wall all Germany with brass
And make swift Rhine circle fair Wittenberg;
I'll have them fill the public schools with silk,
Wherewith the students shall be bravely clad;
I'll levy soldiers with the coin they bring
And chase the Prince of Parma from the land,
And reign sole king of all the Provinces;
Yea, stranger engines for the brunt of war
Than was the fiery keel at Antwerp bridge
I'll make my servile spirits to invent.

We have dwelt upon Marlowe because he is the most characteristic representative of the uncontrolled ambition and inordinate desires which lent force to the adventurous spirit of Elizabethan England. A new horizon had opened before men's eyes. They rushed forward with unbounded delight to take possession of their new realm, and in their first excitement hurried off in chase of what was most marvellous, most strange, and most monstrous among the novelties which had been revealed. In the region of the imagination Marlowe delights in elevating human nature to superhuman proportions. Not the orderly array of life, nor the fine motives of action attract him, but he rushes forward to depict the almost unimaginable extravagance of fury, villany, and desire. Yet Marlowe is a great dramatist. His imagery is forcible, his fancy vivid, his pictures of human passion real though exaggerated; there is the stamp of genius on everything he wrote, and his faults are of the kind that would have been tempered by age. In plot and action, in his views of scenic effect, Marlowe was a great advance upon his predecessors, and when compared with his contemporaries appears as a true dramatic artist.

About the time when Marlowe's earliest play appeared William Shakespeare first came up to London. He was the son of a well-to-do tradesman in Stratford-upon-Avon, whose fortunes however had begun to decline during his son's boyhood. At the early age of nineteen he married Anne Hathaway, who was eight years his senior. Increasing poverty and, as the story goes, a disturbance about poaching in Sir Thomas Lucy's park, drove Shakespeare to quit Stratford, leaving his wife and family behind, and induced him to try his fortunes in London. He arrived there at the age of twenty-two and became an actor. We cannot trace with any certainty his life in London, nor how he became a poet. His earliest work, 'Venus and Adonis,' 'the first heir of

Shakespeare.

his invention,' was dedicated to the Earl of Southampton, who was always his constant patron. Soon he began to try his hand at writing plays, at first comedies which turned upon the fashions of the day. 'Love's Labour's Lost,' one of his earliest plays, was a piece slight in plot, ridiculing the folly of Euphuism and pedantry. The 'Comedy of Errors' was an adaptation of Latin comedy, and aimed at amusing by its broad complications rather than any study of character. In 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' first of all the poet's fancy broke forth unrestrained; his pictures of fairyland are full of graceful imagination, and gain force by the contrast between the airy gambols of the elves and the clumsy clowns who labour at their rehearsal. We do not know how Shakespeare learned and wrote, nor do we know with certainty the order of his plays. They were written most of them to order. The theatre possessed an acting copy of some old story, legend, or history; these Shakespeare wrought up; some he entirely transformed with his own power, others perhaps he only remodelled and wrote in parts. Dramatic representations of English history were highly popular, and Shakespeare's historical plays are deeply interesting as showing how the English at that time looked back upon the stirring events and characters of their country's past. Shakespeare wrote quickly to supply the demand of the playhouse. His fame soon grew, and Elizabeth listened to his plays with interest. He is said to have written the 'Merry Wives of Windsor' to gratify the queen, who wished to see Falstaff in love. His plays were at first published; but when his fame was secure he seems to have stopped their publication that he might make more money from their representation. After 1600 'Hamlet' and 'King Lear' were the only two which were published during his lifetime. Though famous in London, Shakespeare seems never to

have lost his affection for his native place. His gains were not all spent in the delights of society. Though he supped at the Mermaid Tavern amongst the wits of the time, he invested his money in the purchase of land near Stratford. In Shakespeare genius was not a wild excitement as it had been to Marlowe; order and self-control were characteristics of his greater penetration into the meaning of life. His insight and depth of feeling led him to care and prudence, not to mere excesses. He retired from London to spend his last years in ease and comfort at Stratford, where he died in 1616 at the age of fifty-two.

It is impossible to explain a genius like Shakespeare by any features of the times in which he lived, or to point out the sources from which he gained his experience or knowledge. Analysis and criticism can only discover, they cannot explain, profound truths, fine points of perception, discrimination in details, which the poet's imagination saw in their entirety, and depicted as it saw. Treatises have been written to prove Shakespeare's special knowledge of various subjects, and to claim for him a technical training in each. It is impossible to identify Shakespeare with any of his characters, or to say that any special mood of the human mind was peculiarly his own. He is equally at home in the scheming villany of Richard III. and the chivalrous bravery of Henry V., in the consuming jealousy of Othello and the complacent sensuality of Falstaff, in the reckless wit of Mercutio and the absorbing revenge of Shylock. In tragedy and comedy alike he is supreme; his master hand swept with unerring accuracy over the entire scale of human life and passion. As he advanced in life, we find in his plays greater thoughtfulness and a more serious tone. In 'The Merchant of Venice,' he takes a deeper view of the varied course of life; in a short while how great a change

has come imperceptibly over the life and fortunes of so many. 'As You Like It' shows still further the poet's thoughtfulness. He grapples with the contradictions of life,—'sweet are the uses of adversity;' while the cynical moralisings of Jacques and the quaint practical wisdom of the clown give opportunities for setting in sharp contrast the different solutions of life's problem. In 'Hamlet' Shakespeare has drawn the struggle of man's spirit with destiny, the conflict of the soul with its surroundings, the terrible force of sin to perturb the life of the innocent. So profound is the insight which dictated 'Hamlet' that it still remains an inexhaustible subject of speculation, opening out innumerable problems of human life and character. Shakespeare's range of interest was endless. Amongst the last of his plays was the 'Tempest,' in which he seems to have caught the curiosity awakened by travellers' tales, and to have pressed forward in fanciful speculation to consider the origin of man's nature. The monstrous form of Caliban, half human, half brutal, goes with a soul that has but the lower animalism and selfish cunning of the brute for its foundation. The 'Tempest,' like 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' is worked out with supernatural machinery. Again we are in the region of spirits; but the spirits of Shakespeare's age differ from those of his youth. No longer are they in the foreground working spontaneously and showing now and then their interest in man's fortunes; they are now kept under man's sway, controlled by his will, and compelled to work at his command. In both plays the poet's imagination overpowers us, and peoples the fairy region with shapes which become almost real to us. But the sprightly play of youthful fancy, the unfettered gaiety of heart which clothed the world with the fair colours of a beautiful dream, have given way to the reflective wonder of age, which peers into questions it cannot solve. The

airy grace of 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' changes into the stately dignity of the 'Tempest.' With greater knowledge has come greater uncertainty; on the conscious enjoyment of power follows the sense of its bitterness :—

> Like the baseless fabric of this vision
> The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit shall dissolve;
> And like this insubstantial pageant faded,
> Leave not a rack behind; We are such stuff
> As dreams are made on, and our little life
> Is rounded with a sleep.

In Shakespeare the glory of the Elizabethan drama was at its height. His youth saw the wild extravagances of the genius of Marlowe; in his later years he saw a new race of dramatists arise, Webster, Ford, Massinger, Chapman, Middleton, Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher. They were all men of force and power, though none had the range or the profundity of Shakespeare. Jonson is the most famous of them, and is remarkable for taking the subjects of his comedies from the domestic life of his own time. He was a scholar proud of his learning, and wished to introduce a severer style of composition than the untrammelled freedom of Shakespeare. The drama continued to thrive in England until the severer morality of the Puritans revolted against the licence into which it began to fall under the writers of James I.'s time, and the theatre declined before the feverish excitement which preceded the times of the Great Rebellion.

Later dramatists.

CHAPTER III.

LAST YEARS OF ELIZABETH.

THE years that followed the repulse of the Spanish Armada were the culminating years of Elizabeth's reign. England awoke to her true position. Spain was everywhere driven back. France again began to form itself into a strong and united power. Yet the power of Spain was still looked upon with respect. Henry IV. and Elizabeth would both of them gladly have made peace with Philip II., and would have given the Netherlands over to him could they have been certain of his intentions towards themselves. But Philip still supported the League in France and threatened another invasion of England. Henry IV. and Elizabeth still held by the Netherlands, though they were always suspicious of one another's intentions.

Desire for peace.

The struggle of Philip and the League against Henry IV. became every day more hopeless. Henry's position in France became so far secure after his conversion that in December 1595 Pope Clement VIII. solemnly gave him absolution. The religious struggle in France was now over. Protestantism had been vanquished, not by the victory of the extreme party but by the formation of a moderate party which lay between the two extremes. France returned to submission to the papacy; but it was a voluntary submission, and the attitude of the French Church was one of independence. The Pope was glad to see the re-establishment of the old equilibrium between the two Catholic powers of France and Spain. So long as Spain only had been

Religious settlemen in France.

thoroughly Catholic, the papacy had had to follow Spain entirely; now it could again assume an independent position between the two powers.

After the absolution of Henry IV. it was impossible for Philip long to continue the war against him. Philip himself, in spite of his great dominions, was hopelessly bankrupt. The loss of the resources of the Netherlands, the expenses of his many wars, and the ruinous financial system which he had inherited, and by which the yearly revenue was pledged for the payment of interest on the royal debt—all these causes combined to exhaust the king's coffers, though he squandered nothing on his own magnificence or pleasures. In the beginning of 1596 Philip won an important triumph by the capture of Calais. But this awoke the alarm of England and of the Hollanders as much as of the French. A joint expedition was equipped against Spain in which the English took the lead. Lord Admiral Howard sailed with a fleet of a hundred and fifty vessels against Cadiz, and the Earl of Essex commanded the land forces. On June 21 the Spanish ships which assembled for the defence of the town were entirely defeated. Essex was the first to leap on shore, and the English troops easily took the city. The clemency of the English soldiers contrasted favourably with the terrible barbarities of the Spaniards in the Netherlands. 'The mercy and the clemency that hath been showed here,' wrote Lord Howard, 'will be spoken of throughout the world.' No man or woman was needlessly injured; but Cadiz was sacked, and the shipping in its harbour destroyed. Essex wished to follow up this exploit by a further attack upon Spain; but Howard, who had accomplished the task for which he had been sent, insisted on returning home.

Expedition against Cadiz, 1596.

This was the last great naval expedition against

Spain. There was in England also a strong desire for peace. The queen and Burleigh were both growing old; they felt that they had accomplished their purpose; they had steered England through the difficulties which beset her; they would gladly have reaped the advantages of the position which they had now secured. But there was a strong party among the younger nobles who were animated by the old spirit of hatred against Spain. They were eager for an opportunity of gaining military distinction; they longed to destroy Spain utterly, and win for England without dispute the mastery of the seas. The struggles of these two parties cast a shadow over the declining years of Elizabeth, and the queen's personal weaknesses were mingled in a melancholy and almost tragic way in the political intrigues which disturbed the end of her reign.

Parties at Elizabeth's court.

The leader of the war party was Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. He was Leicester's step-son, and had been introduced to court by him. After Leicester's death he became the queen's chief favourite, and succeeded to Leicester's influence. Young, handsome, chivalrous, outspoken, and ambitious, he awoke all Elizabeth's tenderness, and although he was more than thirty years her junior, she bestowed upon him the affection of a mistress rather than of a mother. He gathered round him all the ambitious and ardent spirits of the time, and so long as his influence was supreme with the queen, a policy of peace was impossible. When he set out for Cadiz his power was at its height. During his absence Burleigh prevailed with the queen to have his son Robert Cecil appointed secretary of state. The peace party had thus gained a great victory, and used their power to disparage the exploits of Essex. On his return he took up a position of determined antagonism to them, and symbolised his views at

Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex.

a festival in honour of the queen's accession. He was met in the tilt-yard by a hermit, an officer of state, and a soldier; each entreated him to follow his views of life; but the answer was given 'that this knight would never forsake his mistress's love, whose virtue made all his thoughts divine, whose wisdom taught him all true policy, whose beauty and worth made him at all times fit to command armies.'

In 1597 Essex prevailed upon the queen to allow a naval expedition, known as 'The Island Voyage,' to be made, with the object of destroying the Spanish ships, and of cutting off their fleet on its return from the West Indies. The fleet sailed for the Azores, where Raleigh, without waiting for Essex, captured the island of Fayal. Essex blazed into anger against Raleigh, and even threatened his life; party quarrels broke out even in the fleet. The expedition was a failure, owing to the mistakes made by Essex. The Spanish fleet escaped, and the English squadron reached home without having done much damage. Philip meantime had sent out another Armada against England, which was dispersed by a storm off the Scilly Isles, and was driven back to Ferrol.

The Island Voyage.

This was, however, the last attempt at war upon a large scale. Henry IV. early in 1598 concluded with Philip the treaty of Vervins, and turned his attention to the consolidation of the French monarchy upon its old Catholic basis. By the edict of Nantes toleration was given to the French Protestants; but a slow process of political exclusion and social pressure was applied to win them back to Catholicism. Philip's hands were once more free for operations against England and the Netherlands. His plan was to give up to his daughter Isabella the sovereignty of the Spanish Netherlands, and leave to her husband, the Cardinal

Philip's new plans.

Archduke Albert of Austria, the task of reducing the disobedient provinces. Meanwhile England was again to be attacked where it was most vulnerable, in Ireland. The discontented Irish had been reduced to obedience by a strong hand, and had been kept quiet during the great crisis of Elizabeth's reign. In 1597 Lord de Burgh pushed into Ulster, and after some fighting fortified and garrisoned Portmore, on the Blackwater, near Armagh. The tribes of Ulster united under Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, who received support from Philip and the Pope. After several attempts to storm Portmore, he besieged it, and in August 1598 beat back Sir Henry Bagenal, who was marching to its aid. This was a severe blow to the English forces, and the fort was at once surrendered.

Philip could not, however, prosecute his designs. He died in September, after a most painful illness, which he endured with Christian fortitude. 'I die like a good Catholic, in faith and obedience to the holy Roman Church,' were his last words. He was seventy-one years old, and had ruled the Spanish monarchy for forty years. He was a sincere fanatic, who had identified his own interests with those of Catholicism. We have seen how wide were his plans and how far-reaching was his policy. His great schemes failed one by one, and left him hopelessly bankrupt. In 1597 he repudiated his debts, and ruined many of the chief commercial houses in Europe. His enterprises aimed solely at extending his own influence and the power of his house. His possessions were taxed to the utmost to supply funds for these great undertakings, and his people's industry was stopped by unwise taxes. Castile, as being the seat of his government, suffered most. The fall of Spain from its high position in Europe was gradual, but the causes of its decay were financial. It had to pay for the great plans of Charles V. and Philip II., and it received no national advantage

Results of Philip II.'s reign.

to recompense it for the injurious results of their failure. Philip II. left to his successor a high position, an impoverished exchequer, and a ruinous system of government. It required only a few years for the last two legacies to destroy the first.

In spite of all his efforts, Philip II. had seen the loss to the Spanish monarchy of the United Provinces of the Netherlands. The cession of the obedient provinces (known henceforth as the Spanish Netherlands) to the Infanta Isabella and her husband Albert, was made just before Philip's death. They were to bear joint rule over the Provinces with the title of the Archdukes. Under their skilful general Spinola, a worthy successor of Alexander of Parma, the war in the Netherlands was carried on briskly till 1607. But generalship was soon developed in the United Provinces as well. Prince Maurice of Orange, son of William the Silent, displayed remarkable powers as a tactician. While war was carried on under him and Spinola, the Netherlands became a school of warfare to the rest of Europe. The United Provinces continued to hold their own against all attempts to subdue them. In 1607 a truce was made which practically recognised that the United Provinces had made good their claim to independence. Under Prince Maurice as Stadtholder, Holland became a European power whose commercial and colonising activity soon gained for her an important position.

The United Provinces.

Meanwhile England had still to face the serious difficulty of the Irish revolt. The peace party amongst Elizabeth's counsellors saw in this new peril a fit field for the warlike ambition of Essex. Somewhat against his will he was sent out as Lord-Lieutenant to Ireland, with an army of twenty-two thousand men. It was to be seen if he would justify by his deeds his martial talk. Essex left the court unwillingly, for his

Revolt of Ireland.

personal relations towards the queen were unsatisfactory. He had become intoxicated by power, and forgot at times the basis of its tenure. He mistook his popularity for an independent source of authority, and thought that the queen could not do without him. At a council in which Irish affairs were being discussed, Essex differed from the queen, and when she refused to follow his opinion he turned his back contemptuously upon her. Enraged, Elizabeth gave him a box on the ear, and Essex laid his hand upon his sword, exclaiming that he would not have endured such an affront at the hands of Henry VIII. himself. For some time after this he stayed away from court; but the quarrel was made up, and Essex sailed for Ireland in March 1599, accompanied by royal favour and popular applause and expectations.

Essex and the queen.

Essex's conduct in his command disappointed all men's hopes. Instead of marching against Tyrone in Ulster, he spent four months in putting down smaller rebels in Munster. Even there his success was not brilliant, and his soldiers suffered from sickness. When at last he went against Tyrone his men were dispirited; he could not venture on a battle, and entered into negotiations with the rebel chiefs. There were rumours of a renewal of war with Spain, and Essex was anxious to return to England. He made peace with Tyrone, contrary to his orders, but he still trusted to his own popularity. He hastily returned to England in September, and hurried at once into the queen's presence. At first she received him graciously; but soon the voices of his enemies prevailed. Essex was called to account for his conduct before the council, and was committed to custody. He was examined before the Star Chamber, was deprived of his offices, and ordered to live a prisoner in his own house during the

Essex in Ireland.

queen's pleasure. His conduct had awakened the queen's suspicions, and his enemies accused him of making a league with Tyrone that he might obtain aid from him in a projected revolt in England. He was not admitted into the royal presence, and when, in September 1600, a monopoly of sweet wines expired, from which he drew his chief source of income, it was not renewed. Essex now saw that his enemies were bent on his ruin, and he determined on a decided step. He threw his doors open and gathered his friends around him; once more he trusted to his popularity to overawe the queen and obtain his old influence over her. The privy council, alarmed at his preparations, summoned him before them. He refused to appear, and when some of the councillors were sent to ask the cause of the assemblage at Essex House, they were kept as prisoners, and Essex marched with his followers into the City, hoping that it would rise in his behalf. But the people saw no cause for a revolt. Essex with difficulty made his way back to his house and was forced to surrender (February 8, 1601). He was brought to trial and found guilty of high treason.

Rising of Essex.

It was a terrible trial to Elizabeth to sign the death-warrant of the man she had loved; but the force of events drove her to do so. The queen who had condemned to death the Duke of Norfolk and Mary Queen of Scots could not pardon Essex if she would. He was executed on February 25, and Elizabeth, now grown old and worn with cares, never recovered from the shock of this tragic complication.

A cloud gathered over the last years of Elizabeth. Her old ministers were dead, and intrigues which she could not command were rife around her. A new generation of her people had grown up whose interests lay beyond the shifty policy

Loss of popularity by the queen.

to which Elizabeth had now accustomed herself. England had passed through the great crisis of its peril in safety, and those who now enjoyed the proud feeling of independence felt little sympathy with the cautious policy by which that independence had been slowly won. Elizabeth had done her work and outlived her time. As she went to open Parliament in 1601 she no longer heard the accustomed acclamations from the populace, who resented Essex's death. The expenses moreover of the Irish war began to weigh heavily upon her. Up to this time she had managed by strict economy to keep herself tolerably independent of parliamentary grants, and hence her tone to Parliament had been one of superiority and repression. In 1601 large supplies were granted by Parliament for the Irish war; but an attack was made upon the right which the crown exercised of granting monopolies (or the exclusive right of trading in some article) to courtiers as a convenient way of providing for them without expense. So bitter and so unanimous was the House in its complaints that it was impossible for the queen to stand against it. Seeing that she must give way, Elizabeth did so with good grace; she sent a message to the House that she would revoke all illegal grants of monopolies. Her message was received with joy; one member even called it 'a gospel of glad tidings.' A deputation went to thank her, and Elizabeth, in a dignified speech, thanked them for having pointed out to her a mistake into which she had fallen through error of judgment.

Elizabeth and Parliament.

The new spirit of the people was finding its expression in a desire for greater political freedom. The arbitrary system of the Tudors, which made everything centre round the sovereign, was no longer in accordance with the new state of things which their strong government had done much to

Signs of future troubles.

promote. Parliament began to act with greater freedom and independence, and it required all Elizabeth's tact and prestige to maintain her old position. There were signs that her successor would have to modify her system of government, which was rendered tolerable to the people only by its success.

Successes in Ireland.

A gleam of success was thrown over the last years of Elizabeth by the victory of Lord Mountjoy (formerly Sir Charles Blount) in Ireland. The joint forces of the Spaniards and Irish were defeated; but though Tyrone was reduced to extremities Mountjoy recommended that an agreement be made with him. His final submission was made six days after the queen's death.

Death of Elizabeth.

Elizabeth's end was rapidly approaching. She became moody and wayward after Essex's death; she realised from it her own isolation; she became gloomy and suspicious. 'She walks much in her privy chamber,' says Sir John Harrington, 'and stamps with her feet at ill news, and thrusts her rusty sword at times into the arras in great rage. The dangers are over, yet she always keeps a sword by her table.' Bodily weakness and mental distress rapidly increased, till in March 1603 she took to her bed. Sir Robert Carey, her kinsman, gives an account of her condition. 'She took me by the hand and wrung it hard, and said, "No, Robin, I am not well;" and then discoursed with me of her indisposition, and that her heart had been sad and heavy for ten or twelve days; and in her discourse she fetched not so few as forty or fifty great sighs.' Her illness grew worse till on March 23 she was speechless. It is said that by signs she indicated to her council the King of Scotland as her successor. Then she made signs for the Archbishop to come to her, and listened long to his prayers; twice when he rose from his knees to depart, she motioned to

him to continue. Early on Thursday morning, March 24, she died, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-sixth of her reign.

Her character has been sufficiently shown in recounting the events in which she took part. Her wisdom and her prudence are to be measured by her success. With scanty means at her command she yet succeeded, in an age of vast plans and huge undertakings, in guiding England safely through the dangers which threatened it on every side. During her reign England grew rapidly both in inward resources and in outward importance. Freed from the fear of Spain, England began to realise her position as the chief maritime power of Europe; a new spirit began to develop itself amongst the people; the increased sense of individual power found its expression in the grandest outburst of English poetry. The reign of Elizabeth marks the time when England began definitely to assume those features which most distinguish her from other nations at the present day.

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